Papers in Applied Linguistics II

SAPTATI FELICITATION TO D.P. PATTANAYAK

Edited by

K.Srinivasacharya

Udaya Narayana Singh

Central Institute of Indian Languages

Mysore, India

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Prof. Debi Prasanna Pattanayak

DEBI PRASANNA PATTANAYAK

Born on March 14, 1931 at Tigiriya in Orissa Debi Prasanna Pattanayak had his college and University Education in Orissa and obtained his doctoral degree from Cornell University, U.S.A. He was the recipient of Bhaktakabi Madhusudan Gold Medal for his B.A. (Hons) and M.A. securing the highest marks. Before joining the Central Institute of Indian Languages in 1969 as its founder Director, Dr. Pattanayak was a member of the Post Graduate faculty of Oriya Studies of Vishwa Bharati University, Shantiniketan (1953-1964) and Chief Linguist, American Institute of Indian Studies, Poona (1964-1969). He was also an honorary Professor of Linguistics, Deccan College, Poona.

Dr. Pattanayak's interests in Language, Literature and Linguistics led him to work extensively in the areas of General Linguistics, Historical Linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Language in Education and Communication. He has authored more than 25 books and many papers. 'A controlled Historical Reconstruction of Oriya, Assamese, Bengali and Hindi', 'Aspects of Applied Linguistics', 'An Introduction to the Reading and Writing of Oriya', 'Multilingualism and Mothertongue Education', 'Multilingualism and Multiculturalism: Britain and India', 'Language, Education and Culture' are some of his best known books.

Dr. Pattanayak has been honoured with several awards, fellowships and memberships for his contribution to the study of language in different domains. These include the following: Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship 1983-1985, Pratibha Puraskar, Kala Vikas Kendra, Cuttack 1987, Padmashree 1987, Indira Academy Bhubaneshwar 1989, Assam Sahitya Sabha 1982, Bishuva Milen 1956, Kshetrabasi Award 1999, Nandighosh Award 1998, Sikhara Samman (Himachal Pradesh) 1995, Seal of Honour (Linguistic Society of India) 1994, Recognition of Central Lalit Kala Academy 1993, Jawaharlal Literacy Award 1999.

Debi Prasanna Pattanayak has been a member of many learned bodies and societies such as Life Member, Linguistic Society of India, Life Member, Linguistic Society of America, Honorary Life-Member, Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan, Permanent Member, The New York Academy of Sciences, Honorary Member, Toranto Semiotic Circle, Vice-President, AIMAV, UNESCO, Member, All India Oriental Conference. He was also honoured as the President of Lexicographers' Association of India, 1975-1980, Linguistic Society of India, 1976-1978, Phonetic Society of India, 1988-1990, Indian Council of Communication Training and Research, 1986, Semiotic Circle of Mysore, 1988-1990, Indian Academy of Social Sciences and XV All India Social Science Congress, 1988. Trustee, National Book Trust, 1987, One man Commission appointed by the Government of

Assam on the language and identity of the Mishing community, a tribe in Assam. He also functioned as a member of more than fifty committees of the Govt. of India, Ministries of HRD and Home Affairs, and Languages and Literature Institutes of States and National Commissions. Few of them are: Chairman of the task force on Language Development, Book production and Libraries constituted by the Planning Commission for 5th Plan on Education in India, 1971; Steering Committee set up by the Planning Commission for drafting the 5th Five Year plan on Education, 1975; University Grants Commission Panel on Language and Linguistics, 1975; Advisory Committee, Intensive Education Survey, Manipur, 1971; Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages Society, Hyderabad, 1977; Organizing Committee of the International Sanskrit Conference, Delhi, 1970; Organizing Committee of the 10th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 1978; Linguistic Advisory Committee of the Orissa State Bureau of Book Production, 1973. Executive Committee, All India Adult Education Association, 1976; Bharatiya Jnanapith, Central Awards Committee, 1972-1976; Educational Research and Innovations Committee of the NCERT, 1977, International Institute of Telugu, Hyderabad, 1975; International Institute of Tamil Studies, Madras, 1976; Kendriya Hindi Samiti, India, 1981-1985, 1987-1989; Working Committee of the National Coordination Committee, 1972; Committee on Devanagari Keyboard for Electronic Typewriter, 1982; Planning Board, Mangalore University, 1986; Lexicography Committee, Government of Orissa, 1986; Working Group on National Book Policy, 1986; Central Advisory Board of Education, 1986; Kendriya Hindi Sikshan Mandal, 1987; Research Advisory Committee, The Institute of Peace Research Action, New Delhi, 1987; National Policy on Education, 1986; Indian Council for Social Science Research, 1988; Presidents Nominee on 9 Language Departments of Aligarh Muslim University, 1989; Presidents Nominee on the Departments of Slavic Studies, 1990. His active academic life continues to scatter sunshine to the younger scholars who are willing to imbibe his ideas and wisdom of experience. Even in his 70th year, he continues to teach as an honorary professor in the Post Graduate Departments of Sociolinguistics and Culture Studies in the Utkal Unviersity of Culture, Bhubaneshwar.

Foreword

In the life of a discipline, a time comes after a while when one needs to look back. Has the time come now for Applied Linguistics? I guess it has.

The term applied in the context of language sciences is accepted as a 'fashion' by those who are 'purists'. And yet, there has not been a Pure Linguistics ever in our literature, unlike Pure Mathematics. Nevertheless, there have been other epithets such as 'Green' linguistics (thanks to Probal Dasgupta), 'Fuzzy' Linguistics (a la John Robert Ross) or 'Functional' Linguistics (Martinet or Halliday?), etc. I have often asked myself as to why has no one in our long tradition talked about Pure Linguistics. I think I can hazard a guess now. Language and purity do not go together. That is because pre-varication is an ingrained characteristic of our expression system. Consequently, all our productions and reproductions vis-'-vis language are instances of 'double articulation'—twice removed from what could have been ideal, real, deep or underlying—all four words being a part of our inherited semantics now.

It is this removal from reality that adds colour to what we say or do with language—even when we actually don't say anything. Our fiction or drama, or our poetry cannot therefore be a mere mirror of reality. For that matter, even if there is a genre that is ideally expected to be reflecting our life and living - such as journalistic writing or mass media coverage, the way our cameras move, or the way the pen is tilted or the kind of paper we write in, or the diction a particular commentator resorts to - all show the same creative uncertainty, the same pre-varication. No wonder then that what we are expected to do linguistically under oath of honesty and truthfulness is not what we actually do whether we stand as witnesses or when we stand on judgment on others. There is this general uncertainty in all instances of speak, not only when there is double-speak. It is from this uncertainty, the removal from reality, and this double-articulation that all modern folklore flows and enriches our existence.

Be that as it may, we cannot escape this realization that our linguistics is bound by our languages. It cannot free itself from this chain of 'impurity' and uncertainty. It is not surprising, therefore, that ideal speaker-listeners are only a myth that we all like to believe in. All our calculations vis-'-vis speed of learning and rate of retention are only approximations. The way a feature gets diffused through space and time can only be determined roughly. What was once thought to be more exact in linguistics, namely, Phonetics has also turned out to be only approximate and imprecise. Our parsers, built after decades of research, give so many parses that the choice of interpretation as to which one is intended is still left open to listeners or readers. (This is like saying, all our literary texts are open- ended, and that only their readers assign them meaning. In other words, a text 'happens' only when a reader reads it.) Our spell- checkers and grammar-checkers once again show only certain percentage of accuracy. Our phonology has numerous loose ends and counter-examples and our 'laws' of sound change have many leakages. There have also been scholars who have gone to the

extreme of writing rules for exceptions, too. Others have thrown up their hands in desperation, and talked about only aarSa- prayoga or nipaatane siddha to account for exceptions.

In short, in whatever we do in Linguistics now or have done earlier, we are far away from reality and purity. Does it mean that as a discipline, Linguistics can never hope to be pure, exact and scientific? (I can easily see a smile on the face of our detractors at this point.) But if we turn this question towards Physics or to what was once thought to be on a more perfect ground, Chemistry, we find that this uncertainty and hypocrisies are inherent in these 'pure' and 'hard' sciences, too. To my mind, in the quest of knowledge, purity can only be an ever-elusive and never-available concept. And, hence, Applied Linguistics.

There are some who would skirt the question on purity and use the word core as an antonym to applied. But those who talk about the Core vs. Applied distinction in Linguistics often come up with situations where the core is nothing but a nebulous undifferentiated whole - a few rules of syntax or word formation or even phonology where the conditioning factors lie within grammar. The proponents of autonomy of syntax had very soon learnt that such attempts to raise fireballs within Linguistics would not pay. The boon of linguistics has been that greater number people knew and believed that most of what is Linguistics reside beyond the Core - that most of it reside in its edges. Here Linguistics is woven together with sister disciplines. Some edgy areas show the mark of needle-work clearly and disciplines that conjoined to form the pastiche have not so far arrived at a common understanding. They still remain, what we call in our jargon, 'hyphenated linguistics'. Others have had a good mix - so much so that they have now emerged as almost parallel disciplines - Sociolinguistics being by far the best example of this trend.

In its present incarnation, Applied Linguistics has emerged as a composite endeavor where there have been a confluence of ideas from a number of disciplines such as Anthropology, Archaeology, Artificial Intelligence, Folklore, Geography, History, Information Sciences, Literary Studies, Mathematics, Neurology, Philosophy, Physics, Psychology, Sociology and Statistics in alphabetical order. The approaches that owe their birth to these disciplines have got enmeshed in language analyses of various kinds in such manner that it is very difficult now, for instance, to separate out as to how much of what we know about language and mind is purely linguistics and how much of it is psychology. Further, ever since these disciplines began taking interest in matters of language, each one of them has also changed beyond recognition. Of course, there have been greater interaction with some of these disciplines so that impact of Linguistics has not been the same everywhere, nor have their influences been equal on Linguistics.

If we look at the history of the term, there was a time when Applied Linguistics meant only or mainly Language Teaching. The Master's programs in different institutions of higher learning which used the fashionable title of Applied Linguistics

ended up offering ELT courses with a fair dose of testing and sampling techniques. Today there is hardly anyone outside the 'empire' who would agree with this narrow interpretation. language and mind, or for preparing a human atlas, or for application on There seems to have emerged a greater consensus that all applications of Linguistics - whether they be for understanding processing of language by intelligent machines, etc. must be brought under the general title of Applied Linguistics. This journey from a narrow space to a wider corridor has taken us the last fifty years.

If one were to write a Social History of Applied Linguistics today, a few names would come up immediately, as a part of the Indian chapter, as architects of this discipline in this part of the world. Sumitra Mangesh Katre and Prabodh Bechardas Pandit belong to this league, and they have both left a legacy for us to make best use of what they have done. The trinity is complete only with Debi Prasanna Pattanayak's name. Debi babu who is still among us, and turns seventy today, has had seminal influence on almost all attempts to promote the discipline in India. He has been a part of almost all those institutions which have been primarily responsible for promotion of research and teaching of Indian languages and linguistics in the tradition I have outlined above. These include Deccan College, Viswabharati, American Institute of Indian Studies, Ford Foundation, and of course, Central Institute of Indian Languages. The last one of these has been founded by him, and promoted in trying circumstances. Any one who knows the internal folklore of this organization will know the level of involvement of DP with the well-being of this institution - so much so that we can both praise him for all positive things that have happened in the institute and blame him for all that has gone wrong. There are a very few scholars who are so much involved with the ways a given discipline develops in a country and the way a designated institution becomes instrumental in that activity. What P.C.Maholanobis has done to the discipline of Statistics and to the institution called ISI in India has been quietly achieved by Debi Prasanna Pattanayak here.

As someone who has watched this institution grow from outside since 1974, I can testify that each corner of this institution bears the mark of this extra-ordinary person. If we are now thinking about being different from what has so far happened to the Institution and step into the World of Language Sciences boldly - laying our own path and charting into newer territories - it is because our foundation has been strong. Time forgets him who forgets time. We shall never forget you, Debi babu.

By presenting this academic offering to you, we are only honouring ourselves.

Mysore *Udaya Narayana Singh*
14.3.2001.

Acknowledgement

We are very happy to acknowledge our indebtedness to our colleagues, past or present, who had contributed their research papers for this volume long ago and waited all these days patiently for the book to come out. Some are, of course, newly written papers.

We are extremely thankful to Mrs. B. Shyamala Kumari, Mr. S.B. Biswas, Drs. E.Annamalai and M.S. Thirumalai who have been helpful to us at different points of time in bringing out this volume.

Our gratitude also goes in no little measure to Ms. Geetha and Ms. Lakshmi who did the data inputting.

We cannot afford to forget the staff of printing press who worked hard to bring out this volume by the deadline given to them in March 2001.

K. Srinivasacharya
Udaya Narayana Singh

Contents

Introduction

The present volume *'Papers in Applied Linguistics II'* is brought out in honour of Professor D.P. Pattanayak, the founder Director of the Central Institute of Indian Languages on the occasion of his attaining the 70th year. The volume contains twenty-seven papers in the areas of language analysis, language teaching and various other applications of linguistics. Based on the content and broad area of coverage, these papers are categorised into - Research Methodology, Sociolinguistics, Language Planning, Language and Culture, Language Teaching, Language Analysis and Language, Literature and Translation. These are also the areas of interests of Prof. Pattanayak.

Research Methodology

Five papers under the section on Research methodology discuss various issues in the research and analytical techniques. Their choice of areas and methodological issues show the variety or range of ideas covered in this section.

B.D. Jayaram's paper stresses the need for a sample study to formulate and execute a project plan and assess its effectiveness in a given field of study. The important reasons for selecting a set of samples and the characteristics that distinguishes one set of samples with another are identified in the paper. The types of sampling dealt in here are mainly based on the manner of selection. They include judgment (purposive sampling), snowball sampling, multi-stage sampling and systematic sampling. The author discusses both advantages and disadvantages of these sampling procedures in sociolinguistic research.

Hans R. Dua discusses some issues from the point of view of sociolinguistic theory to find out the limitations and significant aspects in survey of language use. He opines that the data on actual usage is required to be supplemented while surveying the data based on self reports. The frequency scales such as validity, reliability and replicability are more helpful for the development and standardization of the quantitative measures of language use. He also points out that there is a need to identify and develop reliable measures to understand the relative significance of various parameters of language use for adopting domain analysis, network analysis or in giving importance to the participants rather than any other parameter.

Rekha Sharma in her paper reports her administration of the Stroop Test in the context of a study of colour naming and word reading to find out the differences in performance between males and females and between monolingual English and non-English bilingual speakers. The experiment is based on English texts.

Nair studies listening comprehension skill by correlating aural cloze procedure with multiple choice test. He discusses various testing techniques in detail and compares the cloze test with multiple-choice test. Based on the results of these tests, he concludes that aural cloze procedure is a better choice to test the listening comprehension skill.

Srivastava and **Ramaswamy** investigate the effect of bilingual education on those situations where one has a language other than one's mother tongue as a medium of instruction. They consider socio-economic status and sex of school-going students and assess their academic achievement and self concept of academic ability when they are a part of bilingual education programme. For this purpose, they administered a revised version of Kuppuswamy's socio-economic status scale and the questionnaire of self-concept of academic ability. For administrating the first scale, they took the average marks of four previous examinations obtained by each student in each of the five curricular subjects. For the second scale, they took students from trilingual media school. The data analysis was done on the three-way ANOVA and the outcome of the analysis is discussed in detail and the results are presented in a tabular form. The authors stress the importance of medium of instruction and socio-economic status and suggest the need to study the important societal factors from different angles to reinforce bilingual education so that clearer and more positive results emerge.

Sociolinguistics

Bayer and Sam Mohan Lal present their papers on sociolinguistics aspects.

Bayer discusses the use and spread of Hindi as a lingua franca of a minority group in a situation where Kannada is the dominant language. She clarifies conceptually on the notions of link language, lingua franca and language of wider communication, which are often used in the same sense. She discusses the patterns of Hindi use in different situations by the Tamil speakers (a minority group in Bangalore), for whom Hindi functions as a lingua franca and focuses Tamils' attitude towards Hindi.

Sam Mohan Lal's paper presents two different minority segments who represent the twin tendencies of convergence and shift in tribal and non-tribal situations. The two situations are represented by the Uralis, a tribal community living in Sathyamangalam hill tracts and Iyengars, a minority Tamil speaking group, living in Bangalore, respectively. The author compares these two communities, and finds that due to the strong forces of change the languages of the minorities are undergoing a systematic partial shift. He notices a remarkable difference between the speech pattern of the older generation and the younger generation both in the case of Iyengars and Uralis. Among the younger generation, the selection of their linguistic code generally depends on the socio-economic class they belong to and with whom they interact. Among the Uralis, the women and the old people show less influence of the dominant language of the area, Tamil, than the male and younger generation speakers exhibit. This differences between these two categories have correlation with their frequency of contact with the dominant language.

There is a greater scope of research on convergence and shift in the area as the author put forth some questions at the end of the paper.

Language Planning

Sound change in a language is a natural phenomenon. This feature enables **Bakul C. Chowdhary** to propose certain changes in the Bengali script by simplifying some of the graphemes that are redundant in their function so that the existing diglossia situation in the language and in the use of the script with regard to the spoken and written varieties, can be reduced to a large extent. This will facilitate, in the opinion of the author, the writing system which will then be more economical, scientific and less adhoc and it will also reduce the burden of both the first and the second language learners.

When a language becomes more complex and archaic then the need for simplification arises. Ideally, the ruling elites have to use the simplified language in their administration for better understanding of their order by the common men as they are the majority of the subjects in their territories. This strategy will not only lead to the emergence of common man's language but will also reverse the position of many of our modern Indian languages. From this historical perspective, **Yadurajan** presents a case for Kannada language simplification describing its emergence in historical dimension.

Mallikarjun's paper also deals with similar aspects of language of administration with reference to Kannada. He discusses both general and specific areas of use of language in administration by taking the contemporary language situation. He presents a linguistic study of language in administration by studying the basic structure of communication, its sub-domains and modes of communication. The role of technical terms, their characteristics and grammatical categories, phrases, sentence patterns and formats of correspondence and their properties with their statistics in administrative language are studied in detail.

Language and Culture

Rajyashree gives a vivid picture of a case of Mysore Marathi and its linguistic acculturation. Due to the acculturation phenomenon, according to her findings, there is a change in the structure of Marathi, which indicates a convergence between Marathi and Kannada at all linguistic levels.

Omkar N. Koul and **Madhu Bala** discuss various modes of greetings in Punjabi such as verbal and nonverbal greetings, fixed and alternative greetings. The correlation between modes of greetings and modes of address and their condition of occurrences are also presented in the paper with suitable examples.

Language Teaching

The problems related to language teaching and learning, become more important as is evident in the present volume. There are more papers in this area discussing widely the errors of the non-native language learners. All the papers reinforce the idea that mother tongue interference causes many errors while learning

a second language. But Jamal Mohammad differs from this hypothesis. Whatever his differences may be the error studies certainly help to prepare remedial material for language teaching.

Jamal Mohammad in his paper attempts to analyze the phonological errors that are committed by the Hindi speakers while learning the Urdu language as second language on the basis of the contrastive analysis. He identifies four types of errors - transfer, over- generalization, false hypothecation and performance errors. He observes that the interference of mother tongue in committing these errors is very less and these errors are beyond the scope of contrastive analysis. These errors may be rectified, according to him by constant phonetic drills in the language laboratory and instant correlations by the teacher in the classroom.

S.N. Raina attempts to examine the problems such as hand movements, conjoining of letters and characters representing aspirated sounds while teaching Kashmiri script to non-native adult second language learners who do not know the writing system of Urdu or Sindhi. While discussing the problem thoroughly, he suggests that certain measures like copying, individual attention to the learner and standardization of the script will help to overcome these problems.

Viswanatham discusses the divergent meanings of the vocabulary commonly found in different languages of the same socio-cultural and geographical set up. He points out certain new semantic changes that occur due to socio-cultural changes and scientific as well as technological advancements. He also suggests a procedure for the preparation of language teaching materials based on these common vocabulary items.

N.K. Dulai discusses the problems of teaching of post-position in Punjabi to non-natives. She gives a brief description of post-positions in Punjabi along with a discussion of various types of errors that are usually committed by the non-native learners of Punjabi. **M.K. Sampat** describes the errors usually committed by the second language learners while learning Gujarati.

While S.N. Raina confined his study to the problems of teaching Kashmiri Script to non-natives, **Roopkrishen Bhat** concentrates on the main problems in learning Kashmiri as a second language. His study focuses on both the areas of learning and teaching Kashmiri and in the process brings out the problems faced by both the learner as well as the teacher. The paper is a comprehensive one, which discusses the problems at all linguistic levels of the language including the script, the textbooks and other teaching materials in Kashmiri and other miscellaneous problems like Learner's hesitation with loud reading and other psychological problems.

A different angle of language teaching is presented by **Syamala Kumari**. She as a practicing teacher discusses some teaching techniques adopted by her while teaching Malayalam as second Language. She describes various techniques of how to teach a Malayalam sound; phoneme, word, case and sentence to the second language learners, particularly in an adult multi-lingual context. Very few

practicing teachers of Indian languages have so for recorded the certain techniques adopted by them. Most often they speak about learners, errors and remedial measures. In that way this paper has been an exception.

Language Analysis

Different aspects of language analysis are presented here involving different Indian languages under the theme of language analysis.

To begin with, **Nadaraja Pillai** discusses the verbs and the selectional restrictions on them with reference to Tamil language based on the set of features which relate nouns and other syntactic elements of language.

Negation is a natural phenomenon in the expression of a language. **K.S. Mustafa** discusses this aspect of a language, particularly the case of Dakkhini. The particles of negation, their distribution and occurrence in Dakkhini are discussed in detail.

Natarajan describes the structure of a grammatical category, the pronoun as found in various Gondi dialects such as Maria, Hill-Maria, Bison-horn Maria and Dorli. He presents personal pronouns in three persons, demonstrative adjectives, interrogative pronouns, reflexive pronouns and relative pronouns as noticed by him in the above dialects with suitable examples.

Lekhwani compares the Hindi auxiliary verb ho:na:, which has a peculiar syntactic and semantic nature with Sindi huANu and thiANu and posits the problem of learning Sindhi by the Hindi speakers. According to him, the Hindi ho:na: has two semantic variations, 'to be' and 'to become', and more conjugations than other verbs. Whereas in Sindhi, there are two different forms with two variants that function equivalent to 'ho:na:'. This situation, due to mother tongue interference, leads to commit syntactic errors by the Hindi speakers while learning languages like Sindhi, Marathi, and Gujarati, which have separate verbs for 'to be' and 'to become' corresponding to one 'ho:na:' in Hindi.

Language, Literature and Translation

In this last section, that is the final theme of this volume, the papers mainly discuss the translation problems with reference to Indian language and literature.

Lalita Handoo brings out certain problems of translating poetry by translators in an effort of reach perfect translation with an illustration of translation of popular Kashmiri poem zu:n khats tsot 'His moon rose like round bread'. by Dinanath Nadim into English.

Usha Nair discusses the concept and form of translation based on the linguistic principles. She not only posits the problems of a translator in the processes of translation but also gives suggestion to overcome some of these problems. For this purpose, she exhaustively has reviewed a Gujarati translation of a Marathi novel of Banagarwadi by Vyankatesh and experimented by translating it from Gujarati to Marathi to understand and explain the problems of translation. She also stresses

the need of a linguist, who can help the translator to overcome certain linguistic problems in translation. Otherwise a linguist can become a good translator.

Narayan analyses an Kannada old poem Tenkanagaaliyaata 'the play of the south wind' by Panje Mangesh Rao (1915) on the Semiotic principles and posits the pragmatics of the poem focussing on the intention of the poet.

In the last paper of the volume, **Udaya Narayana Singh** highlights the debates on translation and creative writing in the 'Bhasha' literary traditions of India. The paper uses extensive examples of translated texts to make its position on the concepts such as modernity and post-modernism clear in the context of uttar-aadhunikataa movement in Bengali.

Finally, the papers in this volume throw light on the basic problems in the areas of language planning, language analysis, language teaching and learning, translation and sociolinguistics and tried to provide solutions to some extent. Thus, these papers pave the way for further research in these areas, as the language situation ever changes in the context of modernity with computerization and globalization.

We hope that this volume is more useful to the language learners, teachers and researchers.

Editors

Some Sampling Techniques and its Implications in Sociolinguistic Research

B.D. Jayaram

Introduction

Large scale projects in any field requires considerable planning. Any rational decision regarding efficient formulation and execution of suitable plans and projects or an objective assessment of their effectiveness whether in the field of industry, business, education has to be based necessarily on objective data regarding resources, needs and goals.

Therefore, there is need for various types of statistical information to be collected and analyzed in an objective manner and presented suitably so as to serve as a sound basis for taking policy decisions in different fields of human activity. The various branches of linguistic research, viz., Historical studies of languages, Sociolinguistic research, Psycholinguistic research, Stylistics, etc., depend increasingly on the data in recent times for drawing conclusions in the respective areas. For instance, the language planner in order to arrive at certain decision in formulating strategies in the planning process either for education, administration or mass-communication, requires large amount of data in terms of mothertongue pattern, attitudes of language speaker, language use pattern in a given community or region etc.

In order to collect data in such situations, as it is impracticable to survey every individual for various reasons like, time, manpower, money etc., and the sample study becomes more handy, practicable and meaningful.

The purpose of Sampling is to generalize or describe a phenomena on the basis of portion or a fraction of the total aggregate, that is, the sample and the total aggregate, a population. Therefore, the objective of sampling is to draw inference about the population from the sample which is observed. For example, in the study of language use pattern of a speech community all the member of the group would constitute a population. To collect information from each member of this population is impracticable and hence a portion of this population is selected by sole criteria which constitutes a sample.

The important reasons for taking samples are one of the following:

(1) Due to limitation of time, money or personnel, it is impossible to study every item in the population,

(2) The population as defined may not physically exist,

(3) To examine an item may require that the items be destroyed.

Hence information may be collected from a population in two ways, i.e., either every unit in the population is enumerated which is known as complete enumeration (e.g. census) or enumeration is limited to only a part of sample selected from the population called sample enumeration or sample survey. A sample survey will usually be less costly than a complete enumeration survey because the expenses of covering all units would be greater than that of covering only a sample fraction. Also the sample survey takes less time to collect required information from a sample than from the census. The results from a carefully planned and well executed sample survey are expected to be more accurate than those from a complete survey. A complete survey ordinarily requires a huge organization which will be unwielding and therefore many types of errors creep in. The quality of data in a complete enumeration survey depends upon a large number of enumerators or investigators who are well trained and efficient in the method of data collection. But generally in a complete enumeration this aspect cannot be assured as the large number of enumerators cannot be given an intensive training in the data collection technique due to heavy cost and organizational difficulties involved. Also, careful scrutiny and inspection at all stages of work will be more manageable and less expensive in a sample survey than in a complete enumeration survey.

Thus, the sample survey is less time-consuming, costs less, has greater operational flexibility and greater scope in subject coverage as compared to a complete enumeration survey.

Types of Sampling

Types of sampling are distinguished from each other by following characteristics.

(1) Manner in which sample is obtained

(2) Number of variables recorded

(3) Purpose for which sample is drawn

However, present paper discusses types of sampling distinguished by first characteristic, namely, manner of selection.

When a sample is selected according to chance mechanism, it is known as *probability sampling*. In this sampling every item of population has a known probability of being in the sample. It is also known as *random sampling*.

Sometimes in social science research, because of practical necessity, it may not be possible to select sample according to chance mechanism. In such cases non-random procedures are used. This type of sampling is called ***non-random sampling***.

Judgment (Purposive) Sampling

This type of sampling is done when the researcher has a thorough knowledge of the composition of the population and when a small sample is required for the

study. Judgment sampling will therefore be most effective in the hands of the expert who knows his population, and who can readily spot the typical case. The researcher need not depend on the chance mechanism when he is confident that it is possible to obtain a representative item by deliberate choice. Judgment Sample is well-suited especially to the case study, in which many aspects of a single representative case are observed and analyzed.

Though judgment sampling is considered efficient for selecting only one or two items, it has also been applied in certain occasions to procure samples of considerable size. The Time Magazine Sample of US college graduates (1952), consisting of individuals whose last names began with "Fa" was justified by the surveyors on the ground that such names were probably randomly scattered in the various ethnic, religious and socio-economic groups of the population. Because it involves human bias, the judgment sampling must be applied with great caution.

Snow Ball Sampling

This is used in a variety of procedures in which initial respondents are selected by the probability methods. But the additional respondents are then obtained from information provided by initial respondents.

It is widely used in sociometric studies where the focus is on determining communication or friendship networks, in a small group. This method is also used in locating populations.

Now, let us see types of sampling based on Random procedures.

Simple Random Sampling

The simplest and most widely used method of sampling is the simple random sampling. It consists of selecting the sample unit by unit and the probabilities of selection are equal for every element at each draw. The sampling is done in one stage with the elements constituting the sample selected independent of one another. The word 'random' is used in sampling, does not mean haphazard but it implies that some well-designed. Probability mechanisms is used in the sample selection. And the word 'random' refers to the method of selecting a sample rather than to the particular sample selected. A practical procedure for selecting a random sample is by using a table of random numbers. This procedure involves in identifying all the units (say N units) in the population and numbering them from 1 to N. Then select different numbers from the table of random numbers as per the required size (n), and take the sample of N units whose numbers correspond to those drawn from the random numbers.

The simple random sampling is more appropriate when the population from which the sample is to be drawn is homogeneous. For example, to study the language interaction in vegetable market, the selection of vendors could be done by Simple Random Procedure. All the vendors in the market could be numbered and by using random number table a few vendors can be selected for study.

Stratified Sampling

The precision of the sample estimates depends on the size of the sample and also variability or heterogeneity of the population. If the population is homogeneous, the simple random sampling would give good sample estimates of the population parameters. But in many of the situations the population under study will not be homogeneous and in such cases the only way of increasing the precision of an estimate is to devise a sampling procedure which will effectively reduce the heterogeneity. One such sampling procedure is the stratified sampling procedure. Stratified sampling consists in classifying the population units into a certain number of groups, called strata and then selecting samples independently from each group or stratum. These strata are formed in such a way that they are homogeneous within themselves. The advantage of stratified sampling in its flexibility in the sense that the sampling and estimation procedure may differ from stratum and stratum depending on the nature of supplementary information available. For instance, in a survey to study the standardization of language, the informants could be selected from different socio-economic groups which constitute strata and within each strata appropriate sample can be selected depending on the size of the strata.

Cluster Sampling

We have discussed the sampling procedure for selecting the sample units from the entire population or from within a strata. For many population the complete list of units is not available and in such cases the simple random sampling or stratified sample may not be feasible. And also when the study consists of a countrywide investigation wherein the complete list of units may not be available, the sampling procedure generally employed to select the sample is known as Cluster Sampling. Cluster sampling consists of forming suitable clusters of units and surveying all the units in a sample of clusters selected. The advantage of cluster sampling in terms of the cost reduction is due to the fact that collection of data for nearby units is easier, faster, cheaper and more convenient than observing unit scattered over a region. For example, in a population survey it may be cheaper to collect data from all persons in a sample of households than from a sample of the same number of persons selected directly from all the persons in the population. In this case, households form the clusters and data will be collected from all the persons (units) constituting the household.

Multi-stage Sampling

We discussed the sampling procedure wherein all the elements of the selected clusters are enumerated. Though it is economical under certain circumstances, it is generally less efficient than sampling of individual units directly. It is therefore logical to expect that, for a given number of elements, greater precision will be attained by distributing them over a large number of cluster than by taking a small number of clusters and sampling a large number of elements from each of them or

completely enumerating them. Hence a compromise can be achieved between cluster sampling and sampling unit directly by first selecting cluster and then choosing a specified number of elements from each selected cluster; instead of completely enumerating all the elements in the selected cluster. Such a procedure is known as two-stage sampling since the units are selected in two stages. The clusters which forms the units of sampling at the first stage are called the first stage units or primary stage units and the elements or groups of elements within cluster which form the units of sampling at the second stage are called second stage units or ultimate stage units depending on the number of stages involved in selecting the final sample. The multi-stage sampling may be the only feasible method of sampling in a number of practical situations where a complete list of the ultimate observational unit is not readily available and also the cost of obtaining such a list is prohibitive. For example, in a sociolinguistic survey to study the maintenance of a language by the minority community in an urban area wherein the household is taken as the ultimate sampling unit, a complete list of different areas in the city can be easily obtained and a sample of areas can be selected in the first stage sampling and a sample of households within each selected areas can be obtained in the second stage sampling, and thus obtaining the sample in two stages which is termed as two-stage sampling.

In practice, it generally happens that we get more information for groups of sampling units than individual units and hence if these groups are considered as first stage units then the information available on them may be used to get better sample of the first stage units. Further, in subsequent stages also the information available can be made use of for obtaining more efficient sample than uni-stage sampling even from the point of view of sampling variability.

Systematic Sampling

So far we discussed the methods of sampling where successive units were selected with certain probability procedure or with the help of random numbers. The present sampling method is a simple and a popular procedure to select sample where the sampling units are spread over the entire frame. In systematic sampling method only the first unit is selected with the help of random numbers and the rest of the sampling units are being selected automatically according to a predetermined pattern. The pattern usually followed in the systematic sample is to select the sample in a simple pattern wherein there is regular spacing of units.

The method is extensively used in practice as the cost involved is very low composed to other sampling procedure and because of the simplicity in the selection of the sample. In certain kinds of situation specially where the sampling units are on the average more similar than units separated by a longer interval, systematic sampling will be slightly more efficient than stratified random sampling. For example, if one is interested to study the language pattern in different registers like novels, scientific literature, literatures, etc., then a systematic sample of pages may

be selected from different texts of each register for analyzing the language patterns. Depending on the size of the text to collect the required data from the selected page.

A disadvantage in this method is that, if in the population under study has a hidden and unsuspected periodicities exists, then in such cases the systematic sampling may provide a severe underestimate or overestimate of the phenomena under study. For example, if one is interested to study the frequency distribution of words in terms of different grammatical categories, the systematic sample of words from a given passage may result in over estimation or under estimation of certain grammatical categories, because of every 3rd or 4th word in the sentence of uniform structure in a passage is taken for sample, and such words happens to fall in the same grammatical category like a verb or adjective, then the entire data would be non- representative.

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Some Issues in Survey of Language Use

Hans R. Dua

Introduction

The study of language use occupies a central place in the contexts of language maintenance/shift and language planning from the point of view of language allocation and spread. Keeping in view the fundamental role of data about language use many sociolinguistic survey have been conducted in linguistically heterogeneous developing countries for the formulation of realistic language policies. Several methodological issues have been raised in the study of language use in sociolinguistic surveys. The aim of this paper is to discuss some of these issues in order to focus attention not only on the limitations of survey of language use but also on the significant aspects of language use from the point of view of sociolinguistic theory.

Self-report and Actual Performance

The study of language use is predominantly based on self-reported language use elicited with the help of questionaires. The limitations of self-reported data are well recognized in social sciences. In the context of language use, the respondents may not only fail in formulating any exact assessment of language use but also may make conscious efforts to report more or less use under ideological or socio-political considerations. It is, therefore considered necessary to gather some systematic data on actual language use. This raises a number of significant methodological issues which need to be considered in some detail.

The first issue concerns the methods of systematically obtaining data on actual language use which can be employed on an extensive scale. The most frequently used methods in various sociolinguistic surveys include market transaction count, diaries, word naming task, performance tests, analysis of conversation etc. and such other techniques of systematic observation of language use. We need to consider in respect of each method the significant methodological problems of observation, recording and analysis and the scope and relevance for study of language use. Apart from this attempts should be made to develop other useful and reliable methods of systematic observation of language use.

The problem of fitness between self-reported usage and actual use needs utmost consideration. It need not be pointed here that the data on actual language use should be quantified in such a way that it can be correlated with self-reported use. The correlation between the two sets of data might be revealing in some aspects but not very useful in making any generalization. For instance, in Philippines, perhaps the most surveyed country in terms of language in the world, in almost half

of the nineteen language use surveys an attempt was made to obtain actual language use samples which could be compared with self-reports data. Such methods as market transaction counts, word naming task, performance tests and recording of conversation data were used to obtain actual language use. After discussing of problems of fitness between the two sets of data in each case Bautista (1984: 103) concludes in general:

"The overall impressions from the comparison of self-reports and performance is that no claims can be made either for the goodness of fit or lack of fit between the two sets of data. The market transaction count gave uniformly favourable results for self-reports, the experimental method yielded relatively unfavourable results and the tape-recorded conversation provided mixed results."

The question of fitness between self-reports and actual use is not merely a methodological issue. As Cooper and Carpenter (1976) point out, we need to know about the following to account for the agreement or discrepancy between self-reported and actual usage: (a) the degree to which language usage is prescribed for a given situation or conversely, the degree of variability in language usage in that situation, (b) the degree to which the norms of language usage are explicitly recognized or known by members of the community and (c) the willingness of respondents to tell what they know. The demand for knowledge about these matters make the accountability of fitness between the two sets of data a very challenging task.

Quantitative Aspects of Language Use

The Quantum of language use provides a sound basis for drawing inferences about the functional note of a language, or extension or restriction in its use. It is therefore considered desirable to collect quantitative data about language use. The quantitative methods that have been adopted in various surveys of language use show a wide range and raise some fundamental questions.

Mainly attention has been focused on frequency of language use. The degree of specificity aimed at shows a great deal of variation. At the one end the frequency of language use is just determined on the basis of the number of respondents who report that they use a particular language in particular situations. At the other end, the frequency of language use is specifies in terms of various scales different in terms of range as well as specificity. For instance, we come across at least the following common types:

(a) Always; Sometimes; Never/Regularly; Occasionally; Never

(b) Always; Very often; Sometimes; Rarely; Never

(c) Not clear; All of the time; Usually; Most of the time; Some of the time; Never

(d) Regularly, Every day; At least once a day; Quite often (several times a week); From time to time (once a week); Very little (once a month)

(e) Many times daily; Atleast once a day; Atleast once a week; Very rarely; Never

We may also consider here half-hour check sheet on language use which tries to capture the use of various languages with different persons during the past half hour before the interview. While this method seems to be more realistic than the types mentioned above, it shows severe limitations from the point of view of randomization. These limitations can be overcome to a great extent if half-hour check sheet is elicited at least three or four times a day over a period of time. This will make the task extensive and difficult, though this will provide a very reliable and realistic data on language use.

There does not seem to be any study in our knowledge which discusses the rationale for the use of any scale or which attempts to study the validity and reliability of the scale from the point of the patterns of language use. For instance, the scale (4) would seem to be unrealistic and inappropriate on impressionistic grounds in a multilingual situation in the Indian society. Similarly, the scales are likely to have different values for different persons not only because of the differences in perception and assessment, but also because of different quantum of language use in normal activities. Apart from the likely limitations of reliability and validity of the scales, they fail to capture language use in a multilingual situation which is likely to differ in terms of both time and extent of use. An awareness of this aspect of language use has been shown by whitely (1974 b) who refers to a particularly important scale relating to the length of the stretch of speech taken up by each of two or three languages. "At one end of the scale, it is usual to find utterances in each language taking several minutes and the change from one language taking several minutes and the change from one language to another, I designate, 'language alternance'; at the other end, the change is much more frequent and may occur within the clause of phrase; this has been widely discussed under the rubric of 'code switching' "(331). Thus the complexity of language use in multilingual context may not only require several scales but also pose different problems of validity and reliability depending upon the nature of language use and the degree of delicacy necessary for study.

The frequency and quantum of language use are intimately linked with the question of competence. The quantitative study of language competence again shows a wide range. This includes self-assessment of ability in general of understanding, speaking, reading and writing language at the end and the use of specific rating scale such as given below for speaking competence on the other.

Very well; Fluently, Can talk on any topic;
Enough for most conversations; Quite a lot
Enough for simple conversation; Very little

The remarks made about the validity and reliability of frequency **scales also** apply to the rating scales for competence.

Not many studies show the correlation between claimed frequency of language use and claimal competence in language. Whiteley (1974) points out that it would be reasonable to suppose that people who claim to have a high degree of competence in a language should also make use of their skills fairly frequently and vice versa. From this vantage point, he finds some discrepancy between the claimed frequency of use and claimed competence in the case of Swahili and English in his data. Thus in some areas where a large proportion of the sample claim only a minimal knowledge of Swahili, there is a tendency to use the language more often, i.e., several times a week or more. After discussing the discrepancy, he makes a pertinent remark: "what would, however, be extremely interesting would be to attempt to replicate these samples at fairly frequent intervals to see whether the size of the segment indicating lower frequency increases or decreases in relation to claimed competence and indeed to see whether the levels of competence themselves changed" (324). This is not merely for the sake of replication, but it would also be revealing from the point of view of language spread in the context of language planning and social change.

In short, there seems to be a great deal of scope in developing and standardizing the scales for measuring frequency and quantum of language use and claimed proficiency. The problems of validity, reliability and replicability require utmost attention in order to make quantitative measures of language use more useful, realistic and relevant for different purposes.

Variables in Language Use

In a comprehensive survey of language use in a speech community, it is essential to make an adequate and representative study of the complexity and variability of use of various languages in different contexts and for different purposes. The conceptual frameworks that have been used to fulfill this objective have provided not only sound empirical descriptions of language use but also a firm basis for the development of theory of language use. Still it cannot be claimed that these frameworks are not without any problems and that the implications of all the variables of language use have been fully explored for any speech community.

The construct of domain based on certain institutional contexts has proved extremely useful in the study of language use at macro-level. Domains are considered to be constellations of factors such as location, topic and participants. The study of congruence or lack of it between these components has not only shown the validity of domains but also the functional allocation of language varieties of linguistic repertoire of a speech community. However, we need to consider here two issues which have serious implications for the validity and utility of domains.

> First, it is accepted that the number of domains is not fixed and has to be empirically validated for each community separately. What is not certain is whether all aspects of language use can be exhaustively accounted for in terms of the limited number of domains. In other words, it must be a false claim that none of the contexts of language use is left unaccounted for in

terms of the domains set up for a speech community. If this claim cannot be maintained, the utility of domain analysis for comprehensive study of language use becomes doubtful.

Second the constellation of person, place and topic does not seem to be uniquely and uniformly determined for establishing domains. For instance, Parashar (1980) sets up seven domains on the basis of systematic observation of subjects, linguistic behaviour and does not attempt any empirical validation of domains. He identifies 39 situations, 29 for oral and 10 for written communication for reporting on the use of language. The number of situations allocated to each domain varies from 1to 7 for spoken and 1 to 5 for written communication. For instance, the friendship domain is composed of the following situations:

Conversing with friends and acquaintances;
Conversing with people at clubs and social gatherings;
Introducing friends to others;
Discussing personal problems with friends/colleagues;
Arguing with friends/colleagues in heated discussion;

Similarly, in the transaction domain he includes situations which show a great deal of variety in terms of role relationship among the participants and the type of topic involved in exchange. This raises serious doubts about the utility of domain analysis. Unless we develop valid criteria for identification of situations and their classification into domains, the validity of domain would remain questionable.

Since domains are constellations of topic, location and participant, some scholars have tried to examine which of these components exerts the greatest influence on language use. In several surveys in the Philippines (Bautista 1984), the evidence seems to point to interlocator or the person being talked to as the most significant determinant. In other words, language use is affected more by whether one is speaking to a parent, friend, teacher or policeman rather than by whether one is discussing different topics or talking in different situations. Gal (1979) also shows that language choice in one community can be explained on the basis of participants alone. Considering the comparative relevance of the domain concept and the component of participant, Fasold (1984: 207) makes a significant remark which needs further research:

"Whether a complex domain concept is necessary or whether it is generally true that the social positions and self-concepts of the participants are enough to explain language choice is an empirical question."

Recently some studies have shown the relevance of network analysis in the study of language use. Gal (1979) developed interaction measure as simply the percentage of contacts with 'peasants' which shows a high order correlation with the use of Hungarian. Cooper (1982) finds certain problems in the use of domain in the study of language spread and proposes the concept of communication network as a solution. He defines a communication network as a 'a set of verbal

interactional links among persons, each network set off from others by sparsity of interaction'. He points out that the communication networks can be sub-divided into smaller networks corresponding to different bases of association (e.g. village, trade union, ethnic group, market, mass communication medium, speech community) and differing with respect to their structural and functional properties. The properties considered to be of interest for the study of language spread are (1) the number of persons in the subset, (2) the linguistic homogeneity or diversity of persons in the subset with whom the average member is in contact, (3) the average frequency of interaction between each member and those with whom he or she is in contact, (4) the average duration of such contact, and (5) the function of such contact. These properties may not be the only properties relevant for study of language use. Not only do we need to consider the relevance for study of language use. Not only do we need to consider the relevant properties of communication but also to conduct some empirical studies to bring out the potentiality of network concept of the study of language use.

In short, whether we adopt domain analysis, give priority to participants, use network analysis or develop another model, it is necessary to identify the relevant and significant parameters of language use, develop necessary methodological tools for collection and analysis of data, and bring out their relative explanatory value for language use in the context of a linguistic repertoire of a speech community.

Compartmentalization, Range and Relationship

A comprehensive analysis and a deep understanding of variability and complexity of language use cannot be achieved without a systematic study of the compartmentalization and range in the use of various varieties and the nature of relationship among them. In some recent studies the use of some notions indicate the direction of research in this respect. Pieterson (1978) has used the notion of language power which concerns "the concrete position and practical usefulness of a language in a certain domain". He defines the notion in terms of (a) the wider action radius and range of usage in a certain domain, (b) the greater degree of control over the speakers of another language, and (c) the higher status and prestige in the eyes of the people. Mackey (1976) has also used the notion of language power, but he has defined it in terms of six indicators of demography, dispersion, mobility, economic wealth, ideology and culture of people. He has also used the notions of language attraction and language pressure. Dua (forthcoming) has argued that Pieterson's notion of language power incorporates the notions of language attraction and language pressure and that these notions need to be defined in terms of language use, language acquisition and language status rather than demographic or extra linguistic factors as Mackey does. If this is accepted, it needs to be pointed that we cannot define these notions adequately and objectively without a good grounding in the study of language use.

Like the notion of language power Cobarrubias (1983) has used the notion of ethoglossia of a language. It is defined in terms of the expressive power of the

language, i.e., the communicative strength, determined by the number of functions a given language performs and the quality of such functions relative to the social structure of the speech community. This consists, according to him, partially of a profile of the functional distribution of a given language containing the actual functions in a given context, in a given speech community, in addition to a description of the clustering, ordering or ranking of such functions.

In understanding the processes of language shift or language adding and language substitution as defined by Parkin (1974a), or the process of language spread (Cooper 1979: 1982) and the rate at which these processes operate, we require data on the use, distribution and status of the different codes of the linguistic repertoires across all communicative functions. Parkin (1974b), drawing upon the claimed knowledge by different ethnic groups of each other's language, has developed the index of the degree of vernacular reciprocity which shows the difference between proportionate knowledge of each other's language by two ethnic groups.

Mahmud (1982) points out that for studying the rate of diffusion we need to collect "data that can be quantified at considerably more detailed levels than have hitherto been used in language census and surveys. For we can only infer rates of diffusion over time by comparing diffusion rations in different contexts at the same time"(181). Thus the development of notions like language power or indices like vernacular reciprocity and the understanding the nature and extent of proses of language adding, substitution or spread require comprehensive, systematic and quantitative study of language use.

Conclusion

To sum up, we have argued that survey data based on self-reports needs to be supplemented by data on actual usage. This is not merely a methodological issue involving development of appropriate methods for data collection and the degree of fitness between the two sets of data, but also implies the study of normative patterns and variability of language use. We have shown that there is a great deal of scope for the development and standardization of the quantitative measures of language use from the point of view of validity, reliability and replicability. Similarly we have pointed out the necessity of identifying developing suitable measures for understanding the relative significance of different parameters of language use whether we adopt domain analysis, network analysis or give priority to participants. Only by comprehensive and systematic study of both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of language use it would be possible to develop complex notions and indices for a comparative study of language use and understand processes that depend on language use, leading ultimately to a viable theory of language use.

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Stroop Test : A Study of Colour Naming and Word Reading

Rekha Sharma

Introduction

J.R. Stroop in 1935 developed an experiment to study interference among relevant and irrelevant parts of visual display. In the test that bears his name, Stroop presented his subjects with the tasks of colour naming and word reading. Stroop found that his subjects were considerably slower in naming colours when the coloured ink spelled the name of a conflicting colour. For example the *word red* was printed in green ink and *yellow* in blue. Subjects did better when the same colour were printed in the form of squares. Obviously there was interference in naming the colours of the words because the subjects were reading the word even though it was only necessary to focus on the colour. Since then many experiments have investigated the basis of interference in stroop colour test. There have also been many attempts to find out whether the variables such as sex, age, education etc. have any significance in the stroop conflict task.

The present study attempts to find out the differences in performance between males and females and between native speakers and non-native speakers of English, using English text material.

Experiment

Method

Twenty University students were selected for the experiment. They were all enrolled at the University of York. Ten of them were native speakers of English. The non-English group was composed of ten foreign students. The languages, they represented are Bengali, Punjabi, Malay, Thai, Akan, Spanish, Malayalam, Swahili and Igbo. All the foreign students were bilinguals in English, though the degree of bilingualism and their competence in English varied. The median age of the subjects was 27 years. Both language groups (English/non-English) were represented by equal number of males and females. All subjects claimed to have normal colour vision.

Material

Each subject was given four tasks in the following order:-

(1) Reading of colour words spelled with conflicting ink.

(2) Colour naming of the ink in which the colour words were written.

(3) Colour naming of crosses (xxxx) drawn in different colours.

(4) Reading colour words spelled in black ink.

The colours used for the experiment were red, green, blue and gray. All are monosyllabic words. There were three pages with 96 items on each page. The first page consisted of the words and red, green, blue and gray colours. The colours and the words were arranged in such a way that each colour and colour word would appear twice in each row and three times in each column, and no colour or colour word would immediately succeed itself either in column or in row.

On the second page the items were crosses (xxxx) coloured in red, green, blue and gray in groups of four. The groups of crosses and the colours in which they were made were arranged in the same order as on the first page. On the third page the colour words of the first page were duplicated in black ink.

Procedure

All subjects were tested individually. They were given the four tasks in the above mentioned order. In the case of the first and the last tasks, the subjects were asked to read the colour words spelled with conflicting ink and in the case of 2nd and 3rd tasks they were asked to name the colours as quickly as possible. They were also instructed not to leave any error uncorrected. Time to complete each task was taken with the help of stop watch. Biographical information was collected from all the subjects in the case of non-English subjects, the additional information regarding the medium of instruction at school and college was also collected.

Results

The time taken by each subject to perform each of the four tasks was tabulated means and standard deviations were then determined for each set and language group as well as for each task. Table I shows these mean times.

Table I

		TASKS				
		1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*Means*
ENGLISH	Male	36.8	77.6	46.6	33.6	48.7
	Female	34.4	88.4	45.6	33.6	50.5
	Means	35.6	83	46.1	33.6	49.6
NON-ENGLISH	Male	48.2	108	71.6	49.6	69.4
	Female	42.4	97.6	52.8	43.4	59.1
	Means	45.3	102.8	62.2	46.5	64.2
Overall Means		40.45	92.9	54.15	40.05	56.9

The means across all the tasks were : 49.6 seconds for English speakers and 64.2 sec. for non-English speakers; a difference of 14.6 sec. on average. Non native speakers of English were slower on each task. The difference in means ranges from 9.7 (on task 1) to 19.8 sec. (on task 2). The overall average per task showed that men were 4.3 sec. slower than woman. However sex is not significant in the case of English speakers. The mean difference across all four tasks between English speaking males and females was only 1.8 sec., women being marginally slower than men. The difference was negligible on tasks (1, 3 and 4) , but it shot up to 10.8 for colour naming of words. In the case of non-English speakers, men took on average 10.3 sec. longer than women to perform the tasks. For them there were substantial differences on all four tasks with the largest (18.8 sec.) on task (3).

Considered individually, all 20 subjects took a longer time for task (2), colour naming of words. Non English speaking males were on average 30.4 sec. slower than the English speaking males, while the difference between English and non-English speaking females was 9.2 sec. colour naming of the crosses, task (3) was another task where subjects took a comparatively long time. Out of 20, 19 subjects were slower on this task than on tasks (1) and (4) Non-English speakers took 16.1 sec. longer on this task.

The time difference between the two reading tasks (1) and (4) was not significant. Subjects took only 0.4 sec. longer on reading of colour words written with coloured ink. As for the difference between tasks (2) and (3) subjects took 38.75 sec. longer on task (2). Considered individually, the figures are not too different between the two language groups, but in both groups women yield a larger difference than men. The difference between (2) and (3) tasks is 31 sec. in the case of English speaking men and 36.4 sec. in the case of Non-English speaking men. English speaking women took 42.8 sec. longer on task (2), while non-English speaking women show the difference of 44.6 sec. between both tasks. Even though the fourth task was judged to be the easiest, subjects still took comparatively long time for it. This could be explained in terms of fatigue, since it was the last of the tasks.

Correlation between errors and time

For all twenty students, the person r was 0.37, which means the relationship between errors and time is not statistically very significant. It shows that there are two different relationships between the time and error variables :

(1) More time and more mistakes.

(2) More time and less mistakes.

Correlations between time and mistakes can be explained if we consider each subjects performance on the difference tasks separately. Usually, subjects in first category were quite fast on all other tasks except the one on which they made more mistakes, while the subjects in second category were equally slow to perform each of the four tasks. The decay in this case was due to their carefulness. In first case,

subjects took more time because of the fact that each mistake added an extra item to the reading list (as they were instructed not to leave any mistake uncorrected). For example, if a subject made five mistakes he would have give extra readings, because he had to read those particular items twice. Subjects in this category sometimes made as many mistakes as 8, 10, 13, and 17. Non-English speaking males made more mistakes (i.e. 39 out of total 88 mistakes) followed by English speaking males who made 19 mistakes.

Correlation between time and mistakes is not significant in case of male subjects (r=0.26 and r= -0.22 for English and non-English speaking males respectively). Absence of any significant relationship indicates the variation in performance within the group. Female subjects show more consistancy in their performance. For the non-English speaking females the person r was 0.97. They took more time but made less mistakes. English speaking women show an entirely different type of relationship between time and mistakes. The subjects who took long time, made more mistakes and vice-versa.

Some English subjects took surprisingly little time and yet made few mistakes. They explained that they ignored the letters while naming colours. One subject said that he soon discovered the order in which colours and words were presented (in each row, the second half was the repetition of the first half), he concentrated only on the first half and repeated the second half without paying much attention to it. Subjects made more mistakes on the colour naming (of words) task. Out of the total of 88 mistakes, 50 were made on this task, the stroop task. It was followed by the task of colour naming of crosses where subjects made 18 mistakes.

Why subjects were much slower in naming colours when the coloured ink spelled the name of a conflicting colour. Many investigators have attempted to explain this observation. They looked into the problem from different angles. They all realized that the visual and verbal systems do not act independently. Visual information processing both influences and is influenced by verbal experience. Many experiments have been carried out to determine both the circumstances under which the stroop affect is obtained and the causes of the phenomenon. Pritchatt (1968) for example, examined a situation where subjects were asked to match the ink colours with square patches of colour. In this situation subjects were not expected to generate the name of the ink colour so that the concurrent process of reading the word should not interfere with the production of the correct response. Though the subjects improved considerably on this task, the effect did not completely disappear. To the extent that subjects could not suppress the tendency to name both, the ink colour and the response colour to themselves, the colour matching responses received some interference from the readings of the words. This shows that the existence of the stroop effect depends, to a great extent, on the presence of competing verbal responses.

The second aspect of the stroop effect is that it is not limited to stimuli that are the names of the colours. Klein (1964) carried out an experiment using stimuli of six different types:

(1) nonsense syllables,
(2) rare or infrequent words,
(3) common English words that do not carry any colour association or convocation,
(4) words closely related to the colours,
(5) colour terms that were not the names of any of the ink colours used in the printing and
(6) colour words that named the colours of ink used in the printing but that did not match the colour of ink in which they were printed.

Klein found out that the magnitude of the interference effect increased with the increase of semantic similarity between the stimulus strings and the ink colours. That is, nonsense syllable produced a negligible - 5 second increase, interference was little more, when the verbal context contained actual though infrequent words, rose significantly with common words and still more with the words closely associated to the colour responses; it was maximum in the standard stroop condition where colour names did not match with the colour of the ink used in the printing. Klein, with many others, drew the conclusion that the basis of interference in stroop phenomenon lies with the structure of the associations between words stores in verbal long term memory. Several well regarded theories of how information is represented in verbal memory are based on the principle that the associations between words that are similar in meaning are represented in verbal memory when a word representation is used, activation spreads to the representations of semantically related words, making those associates available as responses as well.

The reasoning about the relative speeds of reading and naming led Klein to another experiment in which he asked one group of subjects to read the word, then colour of a colour word unit in that order, and another group to read each unit in colour then word order. Klein found that the reading times were far longer in the second condition, while in first condition, subjects improved markedly.

Yet in another experiment, a method was employed to demonstrate the importance of the relative speed of naming and reading. They reduced the legibility of the letters in a stroop task. The interference produced by the incongruity between the word name and the ink colour was greatly reduced. Under these circumstances words were not able to produce a competing verbal response soon enough to affect the colour naming task.

Mortin (1969) also explains the stroop test affect in terms of interference that occurs when naming one colour while ignoring the name of another colour when both names are available after encoding.

All these experiments suggest that interference arises primarily at a response selection stage. Selection of a response becomes difficult when there are more than one completing verbal responses and when the stimuli are not very distinct.

Another related issue in the stroop colour task is that of interaction between the verbal and visual coding system. The process of converting visually coded, or analog information into a verbal form is quite complicated. It raises two basic questions :

(1) How the functions of language are arranged in the human brain?

(2) How the information regarding colours or other visual forms is processed in the brain?

In this context, Wernicke's model of how the language areas in brain are connected is relevant. The comprehension of written symbols would require connections from the visual regions to the speech regions. This function is served by the angular gyrus, a cortical region just behind Wernicke's area. It acts in some way to convert a visual stimulus into the appropriate auditory form. So when a word is read, the output from the primary visual areas passes to the angular gyrus, which in turn arouses the corresponding auditory form of the word in Wernicke's area. This finding was further supported by a French neurologist Joseph Jules Dejesine (1891) when he discovered that a lesson in the angular gyrus of the left hemisphere the area of the brain that acts as a way station between the visual and the auditory region separated the visual and auditory language areas. Another aspect related to this problem could be the importance of hemispheric dominance in the processing of visual and verbal information - B Derenzi and Spinnler (1967) found in a study that right hemisphere is more important for the processing of simple visual information. These are many other studies which subscribe to this view. Memory two plays a significant role in this regard. All these studies refer to the complete relationship that exists between verbal and visual coding system.

There is yet another explanation for which the colour naming task was more difficult. Words provide a more efficient medium for coding than colours. Each letter, parts of letters and parts of words provide the needed information. The French scientist Emile Javal (1878) first discovered that during regarding the eye did not sweep across a line of print but moved in a series of small jumps (-saccades-) with momentary fixation occuring between them. Reading of the words is easier because subjects need not read the whole word. The initial letter/letters help them to elicit the right response in universal time. There is direct relationship between the visual stimulus and verbal response. In colour naming tasks subjects have to convert a visual unit into a verbal unit and then into an auditory unit.

Variables of sex and language and stroop colour task

Sex

In earlier studies, it has been claimed that woman do better than men in colour naming tasks. But the findings of this study do not support this claim. As it is evident

from table I that the female subjects did better than male subjects in non-English speaking group while male subjects performed better in English speaking group

Bilinguals and stroop colour task

The present study shows that the monolingual English subjects did better than the bilingual subjects who spoke English as a second language. Those bilingual subjects who had more exposure to English and had their education through English medium from the very beginning took relatively less time but they made more mistakes. The subjects who did not have any formal training in English or/and who started learning of English it very late stage, took a longer time in naming colours as well as in the reading tasks. They were comparatively more careful and conscious as a result they made less mistakes. They reported that they first tried to find the response in their mother tongue and then translated into English.

Conclusion

An average person can easily coordinate visual and verbal processing all the time. It is so natural and normal for him that he never realizes how complex this whole procèss is unless he comes across something like the stroop colour task. The question of why naming takes longer than the reading is not only of concern of psychologists and neurologists but also of linguists. The fact that the bilinguals behave differently in perfOrming the stroop colour task could help to some extent in explaining how the functions of language are organized in human brain. The linguists along with neuropsychologists could further investigate into the problem and provide a satisfactory solution to the following -

(1) The role of the two hemispheres in bilinguals and monolinguals,
(2) Functional aspects of the two hemispheres in early bilinguals and late bilinguals,
(3) Processing of information about visual forms,
(4) The role of memory,
(5) The role of selectivity in perception,
(6) The importance of hemispheric dominance in the processing of visual and verbal information and
(7) The stage of interference.

Inquiries into these issues can help in understanding the difficulty of the stroop colour task as well as many other related areas.

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Assessing Listening Comprehension of second language learners by Aural Cloze Procedure*

V. Saratchandran Nair

Introduction

The present paper explains how listening comprehension skill could be assessed by correlating aural cloze procedure with multiple-choice test. It is seen that aural cloze procedure is more preferable than multiple-choice test.

Listening and understanding a speech or a text by the second language learner is a difficult task when compared with the first language learner. When a native speaker hears a radio programme or a talk or a text he is able to predict the context of its occurrence and to an extent is able to predict approximately the next vocabulary item. But in the case of the second language learner this facility is not there. Only in the advanced level of learning he attains this proficiency. When he hears the target language for the first time he hears a series of undifferentiated sound. At that stage, naturally, the learner will not be able to identify sentence or word boundaries. So it has to be assumed that aural comprehension tests are to be administered only when the learner attains the proficiency to identify simple sentences and is also able to read, and write. Till then the learner can be administered simple passages for listening only which will improve his listening ability and by which he will familiarize the target language.

Now let us examine what are the processes involved in listening comprehension. What exactly is happening in listening comprehension of a second language learning situation? From a "constructivists" model of speech perception as reported in Aitken (1979) an 'Analysis-by synthesis' is the basic premise of speech-perception. "The listener generates internally a match for the speech he hears". Miller (1964) as reported in Aitken (ibid) explains in this way. "The listener begins with a guess about the input. On that basis he generates an internal matching signal. The first attempt will probably be an error; if so the mismatch is reported and used as a basis for the next guess which should be closer. This cycle repeats.....until a satisfactory (not necessarily a correct one) match is obtained at which point the next segment of speech is scanned and matched etc". Aitken (ibid) further assumes that "the matched" signal and the meanings they represent which the second language learner accepts as a valid match of the speaker's intent, are a manifestation of the learner's underlying comprehensive ability". Hughes

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(1974-75) classifies the listening activity into four types, viz.,

(i) predictive and retrospective listening,
(ii) redundancy listening,
(iii) construction listening, and
(iv) inferential listening.

They suggest various ways in which both receptive and reflective listening can be trained effectively. In predictive listening exercises, the testing would be to predict the missing word or of completing an unfinished sentence by the addressee. Often this would be a difficult task for the second language learner. But by a continuous training this can be achieved. In retrospective listening, the learner is expected to make structural and lexical judgments about incoming messages which would not be similar to the one heard after a pause. There may be sudden shift on the topic of conversation. The testing procedure would be to mark on a sheet of paper the inappropriate item in the given context. For a second language learner often all the incoming information may seem to be equally relevant. So it is necessary that just like the native speaker he has to be trained to focus attention on relevant facts. This is termed as redundancy listening. Whereas in construction listening, the learner is expected to arrange the sequence of events in the natural order depending upon the knowledge of the world. In inferential listening, the learner is expected to infer the content. The testing procedure would be to infer the ideas such as "between the lines", pun etc. Attaining this proficiency would be a great achievement as far as the second language learner is concerned. Hughes (op. cit : 79) concludes that the four types of listening comprehension activity overlap to a certain extent. This is true because listening comprehension activity has to be taken as an integrated activity due to the fact that predictive listening requires prediction and inference. McDonough (1976 : 147) quoting Templer (1971) has rightly pointed out that listening comprehension is a skill and more frequently used as a test for overall proficiency of the spoken language. The fact being that "no listener can correctly interpret a heard passage without bringing all his knowledge of the phonological, syntactic and semantic structure to bear on the task of decoding sounds into meaning" and hence this serves as an "integrative" test of proficiency of the language because it requires an assumption, i.e., integration of knowledge or skills in each of these areas for successful performance. A student hears a passage and then answers a number of questions which are made to check his listening comprehension. Two processes are involved—

(i) he interprets the spoken language heard, and
(ii) he extracts information from the passage.

In this process he comes across new vocabulary items in an unfamiliar context, new phrases and colloquial structure. So broadly the listening comprehension test items can be based on two factors, viz.,

(i) content of the passage, and
(ii) on the expressions used in the passage.

Testing Techniques

Now let us turn our attention to the testing techniques employed in listening comprehension. Aitken (op. cit: 176) has classified into three categories based on the constructivist's model of speech perception. They are—

(i) multiple-choice test,

(ii) fill-in-items test and

(iii) dictation tests.

Multiple-choice have been categorized into three—

(a) appropriate response type,

(b) paraphrase answer type and

(c) conversation comprehension type.

In appropriate response test the learner will hear four types of responses for a single question stimulus and is expected to choose the most appropriate one. In paraphrase answer type, the student hears a statement and remembers it while reading four statements one of which is the best paraphrase of the stimulus statement. Whereas in conversation comprehension test item, the student hears a conversation between two or three speakers and is given four printed choices, to elicit the best answer. The test items can be based on the subject of the conversation or on the conversational context. A criticism often raised against the multiple-choice test is that whether they help the comprehension or whether they mislead. Often the learner has to read a number of equally possible and wrong answers.

Fill-in-items forms a major objective test to assess the listening skill of the second language learner. The same sentence in the passage may be provided to the learner after deleting a lexical item. In the initial stages multiple-choice questions may be provided in the blank and later on it may not be provided. 'The integrative grammar test' developed by Bowen (1975) is a procedure in which the examine is asked to identify and write down the full form of the second word of each sentence he hears. There are lot of practical difficulties in this procedure. Often the second word may not be pronounced audibly and the student is put in a difficult situation.

Another test employed in listening comprehension is *the aural cloze* test. The principle underlying cloze procedure is to delete every nth word (probably the 5th, 6th or 7th word) and after listening, the student is expected to write down the deleted word. The student hears the whole passage once with sufficient pauses provided in the blank and writes down the missing items. Evans and Haastruup (1976) following the same procedure supplied edited versions of taped interviews to the tests. Since there were frequent pauses short-term memory plays an important role. Evans and Haastruup (ibid) assumed that memory span is a factor of listening comprehension in the native language as well as in second language learning situation. Here I too assume that short term memory is directly proportional to the achievement of the target language. If the second language learner is able to

comprehend the context and use the apt item or an approximate item his scoring would be high. Since by using an aural cloze test the overall proficiency of the learner can be measured. Here of course the spelling mistakes should not be taken into serious consideration. The aural cloze test should necessarily be administered only at a later stage of language learning.

Dictation tests are also used to test listening comprehension since it has been recognized that it tests the overall language proficiency. Harris (1970) conducted a *memory span test* in which sixteen pairs of sentences were read to the students. The students were asked to write after each reading. The first pair of sentences were of the same length, the next pair would be longer. Semantically the second sentence would be more complex than the first. The sentences were made similar to the spoken English and lexical items familiar to the student was used. The sentences were not broken in parts, but were presented naturally. The next sentence was not administered until all the students have attempted the previous one. Scoring procedures were adopted both by taking into consideration the grammatical accuracy and the content accuracy. Later Harris (op. cit) correlated these results with a hundred item listening test which consisted of multiple-choice test, question-response and sentence paraphrase items. He was able to find positive correlations. Eventhough he acknowledges the limitations of this test, it can be used to test the overall listening comprehension skill of the second language learner.

Comparison of the two tests

In this section I will try to compare two types of tests, viz., (i) aural cloze test and (ii) multiple-choice test with short answer questions. The aim of the experiment was to measure the listening comprehension skill achieved by the second language learners and to examine the validity of the two tests.

Seven teacher trainees of the Southern Regional Language Centre learning Malayalam were chosen for the tests. They completed 7 months of the ten months intensive course in Malayalam. The mother tongue of the teacher trainees were Tamil, Telugu and Kannada. The tests were administered at the language laboratory of the Centre.

The procedure adopted in the aural cloze test was to delete the fifth word from a folk story entitled *'kēlanum. kūnanpūccayum'* without looking into their phonological, syntactic or semantic significances. I have taken this assumption because that we are not trying to test not on one particular grammatical category or lexical item but on the over all ability to understand a text. Thus 61 items were deleted. The items deleted were words or phrases. I read out the passage and pauses were provided whenever items were deleted. The trainees were asked to listen to, till the end of the story once and in the second hearing, they were instructed to write down on a paper the missing item, either the appropriate or approximate response

or to leave blank if they could not. The duration of the test was one hour (see the score below for aural cloze test).

Aural Cloze Test score

Trainees	*Correct/ approximate*	*Approximate response*	*Wrong response*	*blank*
A	24	32	5	0
B	18	26	12	5
C	20	21	14	6
D	13	19	13	16
E	10	17	20	14
F	10	14	18	19
G	0	4	34	27

The second test was administered under the same set of conditions as in the case of the first test and on the same trainees. A passage was given to them to asses their listening comprehension skill using the multiple-choice test and short answer questions. After listening to the passage the trainees were supplied with answer sheets containing the multiple-choice items. After hearing once again the trainees were asked to answer the short answer questions.

The final score of the aural-cloze test was calculated by adding the appropriate response and the correct response. This final score can be compared with the multiple-choice test and short question stimulus test as shown below.

Trainees	*Score for the aural-cloze test*	*Score for the multiple choice test*
A	0.919	0.500
B	0.721	0.600
C	0.672	0.600
D	0.524	0.600
E	0.455	0.500
F	0.383	0.600
G	0.050	0.500

While calculating the score for aural-cloze test, the wrong responses and the blanks were not taken into consideration. In the multiple-choice answer, each correct answer was given one mark each and wrong responses zero. Each short-question answer also carried one mark each.

The following observations could be made on comparing the results of the two tests:

(1) In aural-cloze test there is a consistent scoring without much fluctation. This approximately tallied with their performance in the class.

(2) In multiple-choice test there is lot of fluctation.

(3) In the aural cloze test we can easily discriminate between the higher proficient student and the least proficient student but the middle type cannot be identified.

(4) Often it is difficult for the second language learner to fit in the exact vocabulary item. For that purpose, while assessing, the teacher needs to put plus points for the approximate responses also in aural cloze procedure.

So we conclude tentatively that aural-cloze test is more preferable to the multiple-choice type of questions to test listening comprehension skill.

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Colophon

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Effect of Bilingualism, Socio-economic Status and Sex on Academic achievement : A Study in Methodology

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Introduction

The phenomenon of bilingualism acquires enormous complexity especially in the context of education. Mackey (cf. Beardsmore and Swain, 1983) claims that more than 3000 possibilities exist for the establishment of a particular bilingual education programme, and that any given model, tied as it is to a specific social, cultural, political and historical context, does not allow for any generalization whatsoever. However, as Mackey himself contends, by comparing different models of bilingual education it should be possible to extract points of convergence that are fundamental to successful bilingual programmes. All different forms or models of bilingual education emerge mainly from the two kinds of language use in education, viz., language used as subject and language used as medium of instructions (hereafter MI). That is, learning more than one language as components in the curriculum and learning through a language other than one's own mother tongue (hereafter MT) as MI- both these result in two different types of bilingual education. The purpose of this study was to examine the effect of the latter type of bilingual education along with other relevant factors like socio-economic status (hereafter SES) and sex on academic achievement (hereafter AA) and self-concept of academic ability (hereafter SCAA). The SCAA, which refers to what one (perceives he is able to learn' is a functionally limited factor in school achievement. (cf. Brookover, et al, 1962).

The effects of bilingualism, SES and Sex on AA have been examined by a large number of studies. Except for SES, the findings, on the whole, are controversial. Quite a number of studies have reported the detrimental effect of learning through a language other than one's MT on AA. (e.g. Anand, 1971, Cowan and Sarmad, 1976, Skutnabb- Kangas, 1976 and Yela, 1975). On the contrary, beneficial or no detrimental effect on AA for MT-MI different bilingual has been reported by a number of studies, (e.g. Barik and Swain, 1975, Lambert and Tucker, 1972 and Reddy, 1977).

Similarly, controversial findings have been reported by the investigations conducted on the effects of sex on AA. As for example, while Block and

Revised Version of the paper presented in the National Seminar on Being and Becoming a Bilingual (1984).

Teichmann (1978) found girls performing significantly better than boys, Haertel, et al (1981) reported no such difference. More consistent findings, however, have been reported by the studies investigating the effect of SES on AA. The children coming from upper or middle SES have been generally reported to be achieving significantly higher than their counterparts from the working class or lower SES. (Shanmugam, 1976, Sherman and Hofmann, 1980, Van Doorninck, et al, 1981 and White, 1982).Hardly any study has been conducted on the effects of bilingualism on the self-concept of one's ability to do well academically. However, a few studies investigating the effect of bilingualism on the personality development of the child have reported either beneficial or no detrimental effect. (e.g., Edwards and Casserly, 1976; Rao, 1975; Swain and Burnaby, 1976). Brookover et al (1962) have reported that on SCAA high or middle SES group and girls show higher performance over their respective counterparts in low SES group and boys.

A reference has to be made hero to the study of Srivastava and Khatoon (1980) since it formed the basis for the present study. This study compared the AA of boys and girls studying through Kannada and English media. The English medium boys and girls achieved significantly higher than their counterparts from Kannada medium. But, when the influence of intelligence on AA was controlled and when the two groups of students coming from the same school were compared, no significant difference was found between the two groups. This study while focussing the important roles played by school related and intellectual factors highlighted the need for an in-depth study of the problem.

The study by Anand (1971), reported already, was a comprehensive one on an Indian sample and this was conducted earlier to that of Srivastava and Khatoon (1980). Both these studies, which compared kannada medium and English medium groups, did not identify within Kannada medium the group of bilinguals whose MT was a language other than Kannada but cognately related to it and study them as a separate group. Secondly, for Anand (1971) the criterion of AA was the average score of a specially constructed achievement test only in three subjects, viz., Science, Social Studies and Mathematics and the language subjects were not studied. It has been pointed out that achievement tests measure momentary event achievement while the marks spread in course of several examinations as criterion of achievement measure continuing state achievement (cf. Sherman and Hofmann, 1980; Srivastava, 1966). Moreover, both these criteria, when used to select samples, have been reported to have selected two different samples (Pippert and Archer, 1964). Keeping in view the controversial nature of findings discussed above and their shortcomings a need was felt for an intensive study of the problem, which was undertaken by the CIIL and the study reported here is only a small part of the project entitled "Effect of medium of instruction, Socio-economic status and sex on academic achievement, intelligence, creativity (verbal and nonverbal), self-concept and self-concept of academic ability of 8th and 9th standard students from the trilingual media schools of Kanyakumari district".

Method

Design

3 X 2 X 2 factorial design was used. Bilingualism, SES and Sex were the three independent variables. The independent variable bilingualism was manipulated into three levels (or groups) on the basic of the relationship between the MT and MI of the students. The students who studied through their MT (as MI) formed a separate group named as Same Medium Group (e.g., Tamil or Malayalam, anyone language as both MT and MI). The second group called as Cognate Medium Group consisted of the students whose MI was a language different from but genetically related to their MT (e.g., Malayalam as MT and Tamil as MI). Those with a language different from and genetically unrelated to their MT as MI constituted the third group with the name Non-cognate Medium Group (e.g., Tamil or Malayalam as MT and English as MI). The students in each of these three MI groups were sub-classified with two levels of SES into Middle and Low SES groups. within each SES group a further sub-classification was made with two levels of sex into Boys and Girls. Each MI group acted as the control for the other. The dependent variables for the study were AA and SCAA in all the five curricular subjects, viz., First Language (hereafter L1), Second Language (hereafter L2), Mathematics, Science and Social Studies.

Sample

The sample consisted of 8th and 9th standard students. who belonged to the age group of 13+ and 14+ respectively. The rationale behind the selection of students from these two standards was the expectation that at this stage the effect of MI might have consolidated in the learners, in either direction. The students were from the eleven trilingual media schools of Kanyakumari district, the southernmost part of India. In the above schools instruction was being given through three languages, viz., Tamil, Malayalam and English. School administration in these schools in terms of syllabus, teaching conditions and examination patterns was found to be uniform. Therefore, by selecting these schools, the influence of school environment as an intervening variable was controlled. As there was provision for co-education in all the eleven schools almost equal representation from both boys and girls were available. The Ss for the study were randomly selected from those who were studying in 8th and 9th standards during the academic year 1981- 82. The sample thus selected was found to be representative of the different SES groups as well. The total N was 937.

Materials

The Ss were given (a) Kuppuswamy's SES scale (1962) - revised later on by the Department of Psychology, University of Mysore, and (b) The questionnaire of SCAA inventory designed on the lines of the one prepared by the Bureau of

Educational Research, Michigan State University (1962). The English version of the SEAA inventory was translated into Tamil and Malayalam with the help of the respective language experts in the CIIL. In order to see whether the translations were comprehensible to the students from 8th and 9th standards, the questionnaire was initially administered on a group of randomly selected students from each medium and the comprehensibility of the different versions was ensured. The average of four previous consecutive examination marks obtained by each S in each of the five curricular subjects was taken as the criterion of AA. The reason for taking marks from four examinations was that by doing so the influence of chance factor on the criterion variable would be minimized and the measure of Ss' performance spread in course of several examinations can be had.

Procedure

The SES scale and SCAA inventory were administered in groups of not more than 20 Ss. Each test was given in a different session. Finding the Ss highly skewed for the five groups of SES as classified in the original scale, a slight modification was introduced in classification. The range of scores 11-29 was merged to form the middle SES group and 1-10 was related as such to form the low SES group.

Analysis of data

The data for 937 Ss were analyzed for AA and SCAA separately for each curricular subject in terms of the three independent variables MI, SES and Sex. Means and SDs for the scores of AA were obtained for all the three groups. Bartlett's test of homogeneity (Kendall and Stuart, 1967) was used to test the variance of difference of the groups. A three-way ANOVA with unequal number of observations was used to test the significance of the main and interaction effects of MI, SES and Sex separately on each score. Pearson's products moment correlations between the Scores of AA and SCAA were found out for each group and curricular subject. The scores of AA were further analyzed separately for boys and girls in 3 MI X 2 SES ANCOVA with SCAA scores as covariates in order to control the effect of SCAA on AA. The data on AA and SCAA were also analyzed using Scheffe's Test of Multiple Comparison of mean (described by Winner, 1962: 198-99) to test the significance of mean differences between groups.

Results

Assumption of homogeneity of Variance for using ANOVA was satisfied in most of the cases except a few for which necessary transformations of data were not done on the strength of the evidence that ANOVA remains robust even when the assumption of homogeneity of Variance is not satisfied (Cochron and Cox, 1950; Srivastava, 1966; Wert, et al, 1954).

The results of ANOVA for scores of AA and SCAA in all the five curricular subjects are shown in Table - 1.

Table - 1: **F- Values showing the significance of the effect of MI, SES and Sex on AA and SCAA in five curricular subjects.**

Source of Variation	*L1*	*L2*	*AA Mathematics*	*Science*	*Social Studies*
MI	31.22**	262.92**	33.34**	1.14	0.19
SES	16.75**	58.40**	26.79**	9.88**	12.02**
Sex	10.77**	1.30	2.86	0.04	0.001
MI X Ses	1.63	2.38	0.58	1.42	0.34
MI X Sex	0.09	0.20	1.20	0.0184	0.25
MI X SES X Sex	1.05	0.57	1.67	0.49	0.35
Source of Variation	*L1*	*SCAA L2*	*Mathematics*	*Science*	*Social Studies*
MI	0.64	119.13**	34.65**	0.22	0.66
SES	6.10	20.12**	14.98**	17.86**	11.77**
Sex	5.31	0.44	2.38	0.02	0.23
MI X Ses	4.61	6.23	3.06	2.50	2.51
MI X Sex	0.00	20.50	1.78	1.55	6.62
MI X SES X Sex	0.86	2.78	1.66	3.56	1.47

** Significant at 0.01 level

A perusal of the Table -1 reveals that the main effect of MI; F (2,925) is significant on AA in L1, L2 and Mathematics and on SCAA in L2 and Mathematics only. The main effect of SES; F (1,925) is significant on AA in all the five subjects and on SCAA in all the subjects except L1. The main effect of Sex; F (1,925) is significant of AA in L1 and insignificant on SCAA in all the subjects. All the interaction effects are insignificant.

Means and SDs for the scores on AA for all the groups are given in Table - 2.

Table - 2: **Means and SDs for the scores on AA in five subjects for different groups in terms of MI, SES and Sex**

MI	*SES*	*Sex*	*n*	*L1 Mean*	*L1 SD*	*L2 Mean*	*L2 SD*
Same	Middle	Boys	97	44.01	13.98	41.40	17.11
		Girls	105	47.50	14.06	43.77	15.09
	Low	Boys	118	39.65	11.91	32.34	12.13
		Girls	148	40.09	12.07	34.27	12.77
Cognate	Middle	Boys	19	44.63	10.59	41.47	13.11
		Girls	16	45.94	8.30	41.81	15.13
	Low	Boys	38	38.21	13.62	32.47	14.03
		Girls	39	42.56	12.10	38.26	14.52

	Middle	Boys	150	48.75	13.38	68.09	13.81
Non-cognate		Girls	80	53.63	12.17	67.99	13.69
	Low	Boys	82	45.35	12.35	56.24	12.21
		Girls	45	52.11	12.24	54.40	23.87

MI	*SES*	*Sex*	*n*	*Maths* *Mean*	*SD*	*Science* *Mean*	*SD*	*Social Studies* *Mean*	*SD*
	Middle	Boys	97	39.23	18.90	40.88	14.96	40.92	14.83
Same		Girls	105	43.49	18.56	42.16	15.68	41.17	15.34
	Low	Boys	118	32.28	14.01	33.72	12.38	33.24	11.90
		Girls	148	33.99	15.32	32.90	12.78	32.28	12.12
	Middle	Boys	19	36.21	17.31	34.32	14.91	39.32	11.23
Cognate		Girls	16	36.75	13.49	35.19	14.11	37.50	11.67
	Low	Boys	38	28.76	19.21	34.16	15.11	33.79	13.08
		Girls	39	35.18	17.72	34.33	12.68	34.54	13.58
	Middle	Boys	150	49.94	18.56	40.26	15.31	41.40	13.91
Non-cognate		Girls	80	47.53	17.09	38.48	15.83	40.51	14.02
	Low	Boys	82	40.28	16.00	29.26	11.11	32.67	9.55
		Girls	45	42.89	18.50	31.73	14.14	35.84	12.93

Table - 2 shows that (a) among the three MI groups, the non-cognate medium group irrespective of SES and sex has scored higher than the other two groups on achievement in L1, L2 and Mathematics. The wide range of difference among the three groups is found in their achievement in L2. The difference in achievement between same and cognate medium groups is almost negligible; (b) middle SES group irrespective of MI and sex has scored higher than the low SES group in all the five curricular subjects; and (c) girls have scored higher than boys only in L1 while in other subjects the difference between the two groups is almost negligible.

Means and SDs for the scores on SCAA for all the groups are shown in Table - 3.

Table - 3: **Means and SDs for the scores on SCAA in five curricular subjects for different groups in terms of MI, SES and Sex**

				SCAA			
				L1		*L2*	
MI	*SES*	*Sex*	*n*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*
	Middle	Boys	97	54.51	9.22	51.58	9.03
Same		Girls	105	56.47	7.52	51.10	8.20
	Low	Boys	118	54.52	7.13	49.58	7.88
		Girls	148	54.70	7.47	48.70	8.27

	Middle	Boys	19	56.53	7.67	51.37	8.76
Cognate		Girls	16	57.25	10.21	54.06	7.56
	Low	Boys	38	51.50	8.44	47.50	7.52
		Girls	39	53.08	8.29	44.90	9.68
	Middle	Boys	150	54.30	7.56	58.48	7.48
Non-cognate		Girls	80	56.00	6.07	59.00	6.06
	Low	Boys	82	54.45	7.65	56.83	7.21
		Girls	45	57.24	5.22	60.22	5.17

		SCAA							
				Mathematics		*Science*		*Social Studies*	
MI	*SES*	*Sex*	*n*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*
	Middle	Boys	97	56.23	8.66	54.34	8.78	52.73	9.04
Same		Girls	105	54.54	9.53	54.45	7.87	53.95	8.95
	Low	Boys	118	53.36	8.70	53.60	8.18	52.97	8.20
		Girls	148	51.05	10.16	51.84	8.16	51.48	8.38
	Middle	Boys	19	51.00	10.24	54.05	7.45	52.74	8.83
Cognate		Girls	16	52.63	12.19	57.81	7.88	56.75	8.07
	Low	Boys	38	49.21	10.72	51.45	8.73	51.34	6.51
		Girls	39	44.33	10.95	48.67	10.86	47.77	8.64
	Middle	Boys	150	58.01	8.17	55.22	8.30	52.89	9.17
Non-cognate		Girls	80	57.49	8.10	53.75	8.97	52.19	7.76
	Low	Boys	82	56.83	7.03	52.06	9.58	53.38	8.58
		Girls	45	57.40	7.92	53.56	8.49	50.82	7.66

The table - 3 shows that (a) non-cognate medium group has scored higher than the other two groups in L2 and Mathematics, the range of difference being wider in L2. The difference between the same and cognate medium groups is almost negligible; (b) middle SES group has scored higher than the low SES group in all the subjects except in L1; and (c) the difference between boys and girls is almost negligible in all the five subjects.

The results of ANCOVA for AA are given in Table - 4.

Table - 4: F - Values showing the significance of the effect of MI, SES and Sex on AA after partialling out the effect of SCAA separately for boys and girls.

			BOYS		*AA*
Source of Variation	*L1*	*L2*	*Mathematics*	*Science*	*Social Studies*
MI	0.67	76.77**	6.36**	1.09	0.02
SES	0.78	31.98**	12.71**	10.73**	24.90**
MI X SES	0.00	30.67	0.50	4.50	0.57

Source of Variation	L1	GIRLS L2	Mathematics	Science	Social Studies
MI	13.43**	40.77**	2.24	1.13	0.92
SES	5.50**	13.98**	2.66	4.62	4.33
MI X SES	1.11	4.21	2.09	4.32	2.64

** significant at 0.01 level

The Table - 4 shows that after partialling out the effect of SCAA on AA, the main effect of MI; F (2,498) is significant for boys on AA in L2 and Mathematics. The main effect of MI; F (2,427) is significant for girls in L1 and L2. The main effect of SES; F (1,498) is significant for boys in all the subjects except L1. The main effect of SES; F (1,427) is significant for girls in L1 and L2 only. The interaction effect is insignificant for both boys and girls on AA in all the five subjects.

Correlation values between AA and SCAA and their levels of significance for combined groups of boys and girls are shown in Table - 5.

Table - 5: Correlation values and their levels of significance between AA and SCAA for combined groups of boys and girls in all the five subjects

Sex	n	Curricular subjects L1	L2	Mathematics	Science	Social Studies
Boys	504	0.30**	0.58**	0.42**	0.35**	0.20**
Girls	433	0.22**	0.47**	0.32**	0.26**	0.32**

** significant at 0.01 level.

The Table - 5 reveals that the correlation between AA and SCAA is positive and significant for both boys and girls in all the five curricular subjects. Among the five subjects the highest correlation is shown in L2. Between boys and girls, boys show higher correlation than the girls.

The results of Scheffe's Multiple Comparison of Means for scores of AA and SCAA between groups of MI, SES and sex are respectively shown in Tables - 6 (a), 6 (b) and 6 (c).

Table - 6 (a): F - values and their levels of significance of mean difference betwee different MI group on AA and SCAA in five curricular subjects (scheffe's test)

Groups	AA L1	L2	Mathematics	Science	Social Studies
I. Same Vs. Cognate					
1. Middle SES Boys	0.037	0.0004	0.625	1.390	0.84
2. Middle SES Girls	0.206	0.250	2.721	1.372	0.386
3. Low SESBoys	0.364	0.002	1.536	0.011	0.018
4. Low SESGirls	1.149	2.302	0.019	0.128	0.326

II same Vs. Non-cognate					
5. Middle SES Boys	13.412	197.488**	30.246**	0.036	0.043
6. Middle SES Girls	10.412	142.790**	3.197	0.250	0.041
7. Low SES Boys	9.592	129.476**	13.357	1.967	0.032
8. Low SES Girls	30.425**	65.513**	11.791	0.096	0.903
III. Cognate Vs. Non-cognate					
9. Middle SES Boys	15.687	56.241**	14.11	1.239	0.173
10. Middle SES Girls	4.8124	2.816**	6.684	0.295	0.249
11. Low SES Boys	8.0726	8.738**	14.865	1.263	0.067
12. Low SES Girls	11.628	25.499**	5.357	0.287	0.073

Groups		*SCAA*			
	L1	*L2*	*Mathematics*	*Science*	*Social Studies*
I. Same VsCognate					
1. Middle SES Boys	1.106	0.011	5.249	0.018	0.00
2. Middle SES Girls	0.144	1.964	0.678	2.108	1.483
3. Low SES Boys	4.473	2.008	5.979	1.787	1.040
4. Low SES Girls	1.382	3.907	16.836	4.172	5.787
II same Vs. Non-cognate					
5. Middle SES Boys	0.044	45.279	2.254	0.614	0.021
6. Middle SES Girls	0.171	58.065**	4.455	0.299	1.916
7. Low SES Boys	0.004	41.056**	7.036	1.543	0.229
8. Low SES Girls	3.799	73.935**	16.807	1.373	0.205
III. Cognate Vs. Non-cognate					
9. Middle SES Boys	1.431	13.763	10.010	0.310	0.005
10. Middle SES Girls	0.355	5.253	3.804	2.956	3.77
11. Low SES Boys	3.856	36.493**	18.116	0.130	0.383
12. Low SES Girls	6.169	79.167**	43.109**	6.179	2.648

** significant at 0.01 level. * significant at 0.05 level

Table - 6 (b): F - values and their levels of significance of mean difference between different SES groups on AA and SCAA in five curricular subjects (scheffe's test)

Groups		*AA*			
	L1	*L2*	*Mathematics*	*Science*	*Social Studies*
Middle Vs. Low SES					
1. Same - Boys	5.80	19.23	10.42	5.21	6.09
2. Same - Girls	16.75	21.14*	19.47	8.72	8.16
3. Cognate - Boys	3.14	4.74	2.99	0.00	0.79
4. Cognate - Girls	9.17	0.66	0.12	0.02	0.20
5. Non-cognate - Boys	3.57	33.23**	20.97*	12.46	0.14

6. Non-cognate - Girls	0.47	28.84	3.10	3.09	1.50

SCAA Groups	L1	L2	Mathematics	Science	Social Studies
Middle Vs. Low SES					
1. Same - Boys	0.00	3.23	4.97	0.37	0.04
2. Same - Girls	2.67	4.65	7.78	4.58	4.16
3. Cognate-Boys	5.40	3.02	0.48	1.14	0.33
4. Cognate-Girls	3.30	15.05	9.25	12.48	12.21
5. Non-cognate - Boys	0.02	2.20	0.84	6.72	0.18
6. Non-cognate - Girls	0.87	0.80	0.00	0.02	0.85

** significant at 0.01 level. * significant at 0.05 level

Table - 6 (C): F - values and their levels of significance of mean difference between different Sex groups on AA and SCAA in SCAA in five curricular subjects (scheffe's test)

Groups	L1	AA L2	Mathematics	Science	Social Studies
Boys Vs. Girls					
1. Same - Middle SES	3.72	1.32	3.91	0.01	0.01
2. Same - Low SES	0.06	0.87	0.63	2.03	0.10
3. Cognate - Middle SES	0.09	0.00	0.01	1.58	0.06
4. Cognate - Low SES	2.31	3.14	3.56	2.08	0.02
5. Non-cognate - Middle SES	7.21	0.01	1.47	1.45	0.11
6. Non-cognate - Low SES	9.30	0.53	0.98	0.01	0.69

Groups	L1	L2	SCAA Mathematics	Science	Social Studies
Boys Vs. Girls					
1. Same-Middle SES	3.28	0.19	1.53	0.01	1.01
2. Same-Low SES	0.03	0.63	3.22	2.08	3.47
3. Cognate-Middle SES	0.07	0.97	0.27	1.58	1.83
4. Cognate Low SES	0.85	2.18	5.75	2.08	3.47
5. Non-cognate-Middle SES	2.47	0.22	0.16	1.45	0.33
6. Non-cognate-Low SES	4.43	6.18	0.13	1.01	1.11

** significant at 0.01 level. * significant at 0.05 level

The Tables - 6 (a), 6 (b) and 6 (c) reveal that the mean difference between groups of MI is significant for both AA and SCAA in L2 and Mathematics and insignificant in all other curricular subjects. In L2 the mean difference between same and non-cognate groups is significant at 0.01 level in all the comparisons for

AA and SCAA. The mean difference between cognate and non-cognate groups in significant at 0.01 level in all the comparisons for AA and only with low SES-boys and girls for SCAA. The mean difference between same and cognate groups is insignificant in all the comparisons for AA and SCAA. In Mathematics, the mean difference between same and non-cognate groups is significant at 0.01 level for AA with Middle SES-boys only and insignificant for all comparisons of SCAA. The mean difference between cognate and non-cognate groups is insignificant for all comparisons of AA and significant at 0.01 level with only Low SES-girls for SCAA. The mean difference between same and cognate groups is insignificant for all comparisons of AA and SCAA. The mean difference between middle and low SES groups is significant only in L2 and Mathematics for AA and insignificant in all the curricular subjects for SCAA. In L2, the mean difference for AA is significant at 0.05 level with same medium girls and at 0.01 level with non-cognate medium boys and girls. In Maths the mean difference for AA is significant at 0.05 level with non-cognate boys only. The mean difference between boys and girls is insignificant in all comparisons for both AA and SCAA.

Discussion

All the three independent variables viz., MI (bilingualism), SES and sex emerge as significant factors influencing AA while SCAA is influenced only by the former two (cf Table -1). The significant positive correlations between SCAA and AA (of Table - 5) show that those having higher self-concept of ability also score higher in examinations, when the influence of SCAA on AA was partialled out the effect of MI is significant for boys in L2 and Mathematics and for girls in L1 and L2. SES is significant for boys in all the subjects except L1 and for girls in L1 and L2 only.

Non-cognate medium, i.c., English medium group has scored higher than the other two groups, viz., same and cognate on actual achievement, i.e., AA in L1, L2 and Mathematics (cf Table - 2) and on expected achievement, i.e., SCAA in L2 and Mathematics (cf Table - 3). The range of difference among the three groups is wider in L2 on both the dimensions of expected and actual achievement. The difference between the same and cognate media groups on both these dimensions is almost negligible. Middle SES group has an edge over low SES group in all the five subjects on actual achievement and on expected achievement in all the subjects except L1. (cf. Tables - 2 and 3). Girls have scored higher than boys on actual achievement in L1 only (cf. Table - 2). There is no difference between boys and girls in expected achievement (cf. Table - 3) The mean differences by multiple comparison are insignificant between same and cognate groups for both AA and SCAA and significant between same and non-cognate and cognate and non-cognate groups in L2 in almost all comparisons and in Mathematics only in one comparison each for AA and SCAA (cf. Table - 6a). Between middle and low SES groups the mean differences are significant only for AA in L2 and Mathematics (cf. Table - 6b). The mean differences between boys and girls are insignificant in all the

comparisons made (cf Table - 6c). Some of the broader implications of these results will be discussed below.

The higher performance of English medium students in L2, which is English, on both the dimensions of expected and actual achievement is not very much surprising. The explanation for this finding can be sought at two levels, viz., educational and social. At the educational level, this higher performance of the English medium group is possibly due to the facilitation received from the all round use of English as MI in all the content subjects. It may also be due to the fact that the English medium learners are introduced to the learning of English from the beginning of the school learning while those in same and cognate media start it from 6th standard only. At the social level, it is a reflection of the utmost importance the Indian society attaches to the learning of English. This tendency towards English, which is inherited from the past colonial rule and maintained for practical benefits of higher level education and employment, is most possibly a reinforcing factor in both expected and actual achievement of the English medium learners. This is further evidenced from the fact that the English medium learners apart from their higher expectation and achievement in L2 English, also show a general tendency to achieve or even better in other subjects as well. The learning of English not only as a subject alone but also as a medium receives social reinforcement by the importance attached to English by the society as a whole, which has become a sort of social value. This social reinforcement is reflected not only in the form of abstract attitude but also in better availability of method, media and material for teaching. This explains why the English medium students studying through a language, which is not a MT or even a language of the environment, are able to achieve upto or even better than the MT medium students. This highlights the role played by social ethos in language learning. The cognate medium group, which consists of the Malayalam MT students learning through the regional language Tamil, has performed almost equal to the same medium, i.e., MT medium group though the latter has an edge over the former. This is possible due to the influence of the language environment and also the social reinforcement functioning at the regional level.

The present finding with regard to the influence of MI on AA and SCAA is unique in the sense that it is not in total agreement or disagreement with the earlier findings, which have generally not taken into account AA or SCAA in individual curricular subjects separately. Neither the MT-medium group is superior to the other medium groups in the manner it is shown in the investigations of Anand (1971), Cowan and Sarmad (1976) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1976) nor are the two immersion groups, viz., cognate and non-cognate media groups studied are distinctly all round superior to the MT-group as revealed in the studies of Barik and Swain (1975), Lambert and Tucker (1972) and Srivastava and Khatoon (1980). This finding is in line with the inference recently made by Paulston (1980) that "medium of instruction in school programmes is an intervening variable rather than

the causal variable as it is always treated in all these studies on reading achievement by children..." (p.61). Paulston (1980) further explains "... unless we try in some way to account for the socio-historical, cultural, and economical-political factors which lead to certain forms of bilingual education, we will never understand the consequences of that education." (p.57)

The idea expressed above is further supported by yet another finding of the present study that middle SES group has scored higher than the low SES group on actual achievement in all the five subjects and on expected achievement in all the subjects except L1. The result on SCAA is particularly indicative on one important fact that the middle class do not attach so much importance to their achievement in L1, the MT, as they do with English and other content subjects. However, the high achievement of the middle SES in all the subjects is in agreement with the other findings reported earlier. The two home environments differentially promote skills of literacy. According to Downing, et al (1975) "skills of literacy are influenced by socio-cultural factors, possibly the specific causal relationship depends on the extent to which an environment provides experiences to stir the child's curiosity and give him sufficient reliable information for discovery of appropriate linguistic concepts. Children's home background vary in such provisions." Educated parents encourage and guide the children. There are books, magazines and other literacy materials available in the house. Such parents are members of libraries and also introduce their children to them. The peers of middle class children come from similar homes and exchange reading materials. Differences in all these therefore, promote differential skills in the two homes and put the children coming from low SES to disadvantage.

The influence of sex on achievement is not so strong as MI and SES. The main effect of sex on achievement is significant only for L1, i.e., the MT. However, a perusal of the Table - 2 will show that girls have generally scored higher than the boys on achievement though there was no difference between the two groups in their expectations to achieve better. This may be due to the fact that girls who have less diversion due to outside-the-home activities give more time for study and preparation for examination. The Indian homes, particularly those belonging to middle SES, have become liberal enough to recognize the need for educating the girls and sparing time for them for their study and education.

Conclusion

To conclude, this study highlights the important roles played by MI and SES on both expected and actual achievement. It, moreover, suggests that to arrive at a definite conclusion there is a need to study the powerful role played by societal factors, which in the form of social ethos implicitly or explicitly reinforce a particular type of bilingual education.

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Colophon

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Emergence of Hindi as Lingua Franca in Urban areas: A Case Study

Jennifer M. Bayer

Introduction

The emergence and spread of Hindi as a lingua franca in metropolitan centres, and urban and industrial settings for different purposes, among different language groups shows the significance of Hindi in the communication repertoire of India. This paper attempts to study the use and spread of Hindi as a lingua franca on the basis of data drawn from Tamil speaking minority group in Bangalore, collected for the ongoing project on Language Maintenance and Language Shift. It shows how Hindi functions as lingua franca for a minority group in a situation where Kannada is the dominant language. It argues the necessity of distinguishing between a link language, a lingua franca, and a language of wider communication which are at present used as synonyms since certain functions are overlapping. It discusses the patterns of Hindi use by the Tamil speakers in certain situations which reflect the function of Hindi as a lingua franca and highlights their attitudes towards Hindi. It concludes that the use of Hindi as a lingua franca goes beyond the limits defined strictly in terms of the notion.

Conceptual clarification on notions of Link Language, Lingua Franca and Language of Wider Communication

Link Language

A link language can be defined as the declared official language of the country. It is a planned effort to demarcate functions of language. In the Indian context various forces, such as the Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj, literary and political organizations as well as intellectuals worked forcefully which led the Government at the Centre to declare that the dominant regional language assume the role of education, English as the library language and "eventually Hindi would be accepted as a link language, by virtue of necessity, without forcing it at the moment". (Dasgupta, 1970). But the apprehension that was expressed was whether "the masses would rarely have the motivation to learn a language that would be of little concern for their daily life" (Ibid). In Bangalore, Hindi is acquired through the formal school system. It is further being reinforced through national official communication and the mass media. A link language functions at official and formal levels.

Language of Wider Communication

Heath (1981) defines Language of Wider Communication (LWC) as "A language which is widely (often internationally) used as an additional language by people of different mother tongues, often applied to former colonial languages such as English and French". In the Indian context, such a definition is not applicable. Its functions are ambiguous. In actuality, the dominant state language emerges as the LWC. In Bangalore, two languages emerge as LWC. They are Kannada as the first language, and English or Hindi emerge as the second LWC.

Lingua Franca

"A lingua franca is a language which is used as a means of communication among people who have no native language in common. (Trudgill, 1983). A language emerges as a lingua franca out of a gradual process of social acceptability. It is used at unofficial and informal levels. Different languages, around the world have emerged as lingua franca. "Lingua franca" actually means "French language", the language of the provincial. In the history of western civilization, common Greek (Koine), Latin and French played the role of lingua francas (Goad, 1958). Mandarin in China, Swahili and African pidgin in the African nations, English and pidgin English in the British colonies became the lingua francas. In India, "soon after the Muslim conquest of the 12th century, this language (Hindi) began to be used as a lingua franca of the court, army camps, and trading centres" (Samarin, 1942).

With the struggle for Independence, the role of language assumed significance. It was proposed that if India was to stand united, one language had to be adopted as the unifying language. At that time Urdu functioned as the lingua franca and in order to bring about a approachment between Hindi and Urdu, Gandhiji proposed Hindustani. But, as is well known, Hindustani could not be adopted due to the rift that prevailed over the selection of the script. Religion was also a major factor that contributed to the non-acceptance of Hindustani. Mahatma Gandhi Vouched that "Every educated Indian should know his own language and Hindi the common language of the whole of India' (Swarajya, 1909).

Bitter controversy followed, over the role of Hindi as the lingua franca of India. In the North, the Hindi movement challenged the dominance of Urdu as the lingua franca. And from the South, the Tamil movement challenged the imposition of Hindi. Statements like, "Hindi as a hybrid, upstart language with no reputable ancient literature or vocabulary of its own, is unfit for adoption as the lingua franca of India", "Hindi is as alien as English to non-Hindi speaking people of India", "English and not Hindi should be the link language until Tamil replaces English", splashed on the Indian news media.

However, political sentiments expressed at public meetings and spread through the radio and print media have no correction with the reality of language use. Analysis of the group under study indicates that use of Hindi has cross-fertilized and watered down to various domains of language use, in spite of

control over other language such as Kannada and English. It could have been expected that the use of Hindi will be mainly in the market, while traveling etc. But the language behaviour of the present group is not compartmentalisation of language, but complimentary and overlapping roles of languages across domains and situations.

In the Indian situation two languages, English and Hindi, assume importance as national lingua francas. Although a lingua franca functions in a hierarchical structure and entails complex dimensions, several facets of Hindi as lingua franca at all levels on the socio-economic scale are elicited below:

(1) interaction can take place in Hindi between two educated speakers, one whose MT is Kashmiri and the other where MT is Kannada [Interaction can also be in English]

(2) interaction can take place in Hindi between an educated Marathi MT speaker and an uneducated speaker whose MT is Tamil or Kannada. [Interaction in English is often ruled out]

(3) interaction can take place in Hindi between speakers who belong to the low SES, who are uneducated and whose MT is different, but need to interact for purposes such as pilgrimage, trading, touristic travel etc. [Use of English is ruled out].

Patterns of Language Use

Data for the paper are in the following areas:

1. Language use at home.
2. Preference for language and skills in language.
3. Language use at the office/work-spot.
4. Language choice at
    a. Market
    b. Travel
5. Language choice while
    a. Reading newspapers/magazines
    b. Watching movies
    c. Listening to Radio Programmes.

Data has been collected from two Tamil groups belonging to two castes — Iyengars and Mudaliars. The sample size consists of Iyengars 80 subjects and Mudaliars 68 subjects.

The Iyengars are Brahmins and have settled in Bangalore for various reasons. They are not concentrated in any particular locality but are geographically spread. The Mudaliars are non-Brahmins and are also settled in Bangalore. They are concentrated in around the cantonment area. The study of Tamil linguistic minority in Bangalore is in the area of language use and language attitude.

The general aim of the study is to see that what extent do they maintain Tamil, and what is the scale of Kannada, English and Hindi in the total linguistic behaviour of the group.

Language use at home

Although Tamil is the preserve language of the home, irrespective of role relationships, Kannada, English and also Hindi are reported to be used in the home by the Iyengars. In this aspect, duration of stay in Bangalore is significant and correlates with the acquisition and use of Hindi. Longer the stay in Bangalore, greater the use of Hindi in the home.

Preference for language and skill in language

5.2% of the Iyengars (although this may seem trivial but indicates the extent to which Hindi is being socially accepted) give first preference to Hindi. And they are two women, one in age group of 35-60 and the other above 60 years. One is a housewife and her preference is that she enjoys using the language. The other person is retired professor. She assigns preference to Hindi, English and Kannada in that order. She writes textbooks in all these languages.

Age, sex and occupation are significant factors that determine control over skills in Hindi. Those above the age of 60 do not control skills in Hindi, those in the age groups of 35-60 understand and speak Hindi. Those in the age group below 35 control all the four skills, with the exception of a few who do not speak Hindi. In case of the Iyengars, a comparison can be made between skills in Tamil and skills in Hindi. There is a definite decline in the acquisition of reading and writing skills in Tamil. These skills being almost non-existent in the age group below 20 years. Hindi is being established as a language to be acquired and used. Analysis based on occupation indicates that the housewives and the retired persons control greater skills in Tamil than in Hindi. And the other occupational categories control Hindi more than Tamil. In case of the Mudaliars skills in Tamil are much higher than Hindi. Their reported use of Hindi in the domain of the home is nil.

Language use at the office/workspot

Use of language is dependent upon the level of hierarchy of the organizational structure. The use of English decreases as the level of hierarchy decreases. The degree in the use of Kannada and Tamil increases as the level of hierarchy decreases. The men use oral Hindi at all levels. For formal purposes English is used and for informal purposes Hindi is used.

Language use at the market

	Tamil		*Kannada*		*English*		*Hindi*		*Any other*	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Iyengars	65.90	50.00	88.60	86.10	23.30	22.20	43.20	11.60	6.80	5.60
Mudaliars	88.88	85.71	79.79	51.43	33.33	25.11	52.53	17.14	12.12	5.71

In comparing the use of English and Hindi in the market, Hindi is used more extensively than English and this is more so by the men.

Language use at travel

	Tamil		Kannada		English		Hindi		Any other	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Iyengars	43.20	22.20	86.40	83.30	18.20	5.60	31.80	13.90	—	—
Mudaliars	33.33	57.14	72.73	57.14	9.09	14.29	15.15	8.57	—	—
Iyengars	43.20	22.20	86.40	83.30	18.20	5.60	34.10	13.90	—	—
Mudaliars	27.27	54.29	81.82	62.86	9.09	17.14	12.12	8.54	—	—
Iyengars	38.60	22.20	90.90	80.50	18.20	5.60	20.50	8.30	—	—
Mudaliars	15.15	45.71	75.76	65.71	6.06	17.14	6.06	8.57	—	—
Iyengars	38.60	22.20	90.90	83.30	18.20	5.60	20.50	8.30	—	—
Mudaliars	15.15	48.58	78.79	68.57	6.06	17.14	6.06	8.57	—	—

Kannada and Tamil are extensively used. In comparing the use of Hindi and English, Hindi is preferred more than English. This is an indication that Hindi is taking precedence over English as a lingua franca.

Language choice of newspapers/magazines

Languages		*Frequently*	*Occasionally*	*Never*
Tamil	Iyengars	13.75	12.50	—
	Mudaliars	66.18	17.64	1.47
Kannada	Iyengars	47.50	8.75	—
	Mudaliars	11.76	13.23	4.41
English	Iyengars	78.75	5.00	—
	Mudaliars	80.88	2.94	—
Hindi	Iyengars	7.50	8.75	—
	Mudaliars	2.94	8.75	5.88

Hindi in this domain can be seen as making inroads into the reading habits of the group.

Language choice of movies

Languages		*Frequently*	*Occasionally*	*Never*
	Iyengars	37.50	35.00	—
Tamil	Mudaliars	88.24	8.22	—
Kannada	Iyengars	41.25	33.75	—
	Mudaliars	55.88	17.64	—
English	Iyengars	48.75	25.00	—
	Mudaliars	70.59	11.43	—

Hindi	Iyengars	45.00	25.00	—
	Mudaliars	50.00	10.36	—

For the Iyengars Hindi takes precedence over Tamil and is equated with Kannada and English, but for the Mudaliars Tamil and English are used on an equal basis. And Kannada and Hindi are equally preferred.

Language choice of radio programmes

Languages		News	Music	Other Programmes
Tamil	Iyengars	31.25	55.00	18.75
	Mudaliars	57.36	75.00	50.00
Kannada	Iyengars	52.50	61.25	26.25
	Mudaliars	30.38	54.41	32.25
English	Iyengars	66.25	61.25	26.25
	Mudaliars	75.00	44.12	35.30
Hindi	Iyengars	25.00	51.25	21.25
	Mudaliars	20.58	36.77	22.06

In listening to news and other programmes, use of Tamil and Hindi are much lower than English and Kannada. In listening to music one finds comparable use of the four languages. This is with regard to the Iyengars. As for the Mudaliars, use of Tamil and English is much higher than Kannada and Hindi. But for the present topic attention is drawn to the use of Hindi. From what has been presented in the tables, it is obvious that Hindi has made a major bread through into the patterns of language use of the community under study. Although it has to be kept in mind that news bulletins in these languages are broadcast at different times.

Attitudes

Attitudes are learned predispositions to respond to a particular object or set of objects in a favourable or unfavourable way (Fishbein, 1967). From attitudes to language, reference can be made as to the vitality and stability of language within a specific group. For the present study no direct attitudes to Hindi were elicited, but statements relative to Tamil and English were elicited.

Learning Hindi is as important as learning Tamil

	Agree	Disagree	No Response
Iyengars	55.88	28.75	16.25
Mudaliars	55.00	25.00	19.12

A majority of the subjects agree with the statement. This indicates that in so far as learning Hindi is concerned, it is as important as learning the mother tongue,

which is considered to be intimate and personal to the identity of the group. Education is a significant factor in perceiving the importance of learning Hindi. That is higher the education level greater the perception of such importance. 73% of the Iyengars and 68% of the Mudaliars who are above the college level agree with the statement. Therefore, higher the education greater the perception of the importance of Hindi.

Hindi is as important as English

(a) Overall response

	Agree	*Disagree*	*No Response*
Iyengars	40.00	45.00	15.00
Mudaliars	52.94	29.41	16.18

(b) Sex

		Agree	*Disagree*	*No Response*
Iyengars	Male	52.27	38.64	9.09
	Female	25.00	52.78	22.22

For the Iyengars, according to table (a), there is an ambivalent attitude towards equating the importance of Hindi with English. But the table (b) shows that majority of the men agree with the statement whereas the women disagree. This indicates that the women whose domains of interaction are limited or less oriented to the use of Hindi will disagree. Based on the education, 51% of the Iyengars and 63% of the Mudaliars above the college level agree with the statement.

Language of Wider Communication

Hindi	Iyengars	16.25
	Mudaliars	64.18
English	Iyengars	52.50
	Mudaliars	11.92
Urdu	Iyengars	2.50
	Mudaliars	1.49
Kannada	Iyengars	83.75
	Mudaliars	67.16

The data elicits possible LWC. And in the Bangalore setting Kannada emergesas the LWC for both groups. English emerges as the next significant LWC

for the Iyengars and Hindi emerges as the LWC for the Mudaliars. The explanation for such a phenomenon is that while the Iyengars are geographically spread across Bangalore, English emerges as the LWC. In case of the Mudaliars they live in a concentrated area where use of Hindi is more widespread, and whose occupation demands the use of Hindi.

Conclusion

Link language, lingua franca and LWC are often used in the same sense. In this paper, link language has been used for language or languages linking different linguistic communities through planned action. Once, one or more such languages are specially accepted they become lingua franca or language of wider communication.

It is necessary to make a distinction between lingua franca and LWC on the basis of acquisition of the dominant language as second language. For example, if all the minority language speakers in Gujarat become bilingual in Gujarati because of the dominance of that language in the environment, then one need not talk of a lingua franca. In fact, it is possible to consider this language as a second language obviating the need of a lingua franca. It is in this sense that it is said that each dominant state language is the LWC for all or most of the language speakers residing in that state.

A lingua franca emerges when people speak unrelated languages and have no common medium of communication. In a modern urban centre like Bangalore, industrialization draws people from different linguistic regions of the country. Therefore, there is a genuine need for the development of a lingua franca. While Kannada remains the LWC for purposes of survival in the dominant language setting, Hindi and Urdu act as lingua franca, at different levels and for different purposes. It must however be noted that Karnataka is an important Dakkhni centre and therefore Hindi as lingua franca is motivated both internally and externally.

There are several languages that function simultaneously in a multilingual setting, but "each functionally inadequate in different ways" (Punya Slok Ray, Language Standardization, in Fishman, 1972). In fact, many languages in a multilingual setting can be compared to the functioning of dialects in a monolingual setting. In plural societies which are socio-economic, hierarchically organized languages of wider communication organize themselves in complex hierarchies. For example, while English is a LWC among upper echelons of different segments of population, mostly educated, Hindi has a broader base in the middle and lower echelons. As Ray observes, "Hindi is traditionally used in the lower echelons of the armed forces, the majority of the larger market places all over the country, and a large block in the north amounting to about a third of the people and containing a major share of the common places of religious pilgrimage". (The role or non-role of literacy is important in discussing lingua franca. Field observations indicate that

Hindi as a lingua franca is non-literate, while English is literate or assume a degree of literacy in different communication zones).

Hindi has been a subject of intense political debates in the country. In spite of political postures against it, both in Hindi and non-Hindi regions in differing degrees, the fact remains that it is being merely accepted as a link language, a LWC as well as a lingua franca.

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Linguistic Convergence and Shift : A Case Study of Iyengars and Uralis*

Sam Mohan Lal

Introduction

For the purposes of this paper I classify the minorities into two different categories. In the first category are the tribals who are less in number and who are restricted to a limited territory, and thus use of whose linguistic code is restricted to that community only. In the second category are those speech communities which are numerically more in one part of the country but are considered minorities in other linguistic areas or parts to which these communities may have for certain reasons migrated. In short, the latter group is a dominant linguistic group in the area and is a minority group in another area. Although it does not fully describe the situations faithfully, I propose to call the former a tribal situation and the latter a non-tribal situation.

In this paper an attempt is made to study both the tribal and non-tribal minority situations. These two situations are compared to find out whether there is any commonness in the linguistic convergence and shift that might to taking place in different sociolinguistic settings.

The minority situations studies here are those of Tamil speaking minorities (Iyengars) settled in Bangalore city[1] for generations and those of the Uralis[2], a tribal community living in the Eastern ghats bordering Tamil Nadu and Karnataka who speak a variety of language which has more affinity with Irula, a tribal language spoken in the Nilgiris.

Common Sociolinguistic Conditions

There are certain common sociolinguistic conditions under which the two situations prevail. Both these minorities are embedded in a dominant language situation which exerts a constant pressure on these minority languages.

For example, the Tamil spoken by the Iyengars is under the dominant linguistic pressure from Kannada, the regional language of the area, whereas Uralis are settled

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1. The data is collected by the author in connection with his official work on 'Language Convergence and Variation - A Case study of Tamil in Bangalore, part I Iyengar Tamil.

2. The data comes from the author's Ph.D field data on 'A Descriptive Analysis of Urali', University of Mysore 1981.

in a situation where Tamil is the regional dominant language of the area. Both these minority communities settled in two different parts of India have been undergoing linguistic assimilation with their respective dominant languages during their long period of stay in their respective areas. This is brought about through several means:

(1) A compulsory school education in and about the dominant language of the area.

(2) Assignment of status of official language to the dominant language.

(3) Functioning of the dominant language as the common language of interaction in the city or village.

(4) Socio/political and economic pressures to use the dominant language.

Tamil as a Minority Language

Bangalore, a cosmopolitan city, is a capital of Karnataka State. The total population of Tamil speakers in the city is 5,29,284 according to the 1971 census of India. Among the total population of the city, the Tamil speakers form 25.37% and are the largest minority. The migrated Tamil community living in Bangalore City can be put under two broad categories, namely,

(i) permanent settlers who are in the present place for generations and

(ii) The recent migrants who have come from various parts of Tamil Nadu in recent years for the purposes of trade, education, job, etc., and who continue to have regular contact with Tamil Nadu.

In most of the cases, the members of the former group have almost lost their contact with Tamil Nadu. As a result, the frequency of their visit to Tamil Nadu is rather restricted. Among the various communities settled in Bangalore, following are the predominant groups: Brahmins (Iyers and Iyengars) Mudaliars, Pillais and Padayachis. Among these four communities, I have taken up the study of Brahmins (Iyengars) who have settled in Bangalore for generations. None of the Iyengars whom I worked within the field know Tamil to read and write, though Tamil is maintained in the family domain by most of them.

As far as the linguistic identity is concerned, we come across two way opposition among the Iyengars in so far as choice of language is made in relation to subject and medium.

(i) Those who are in the higher socio-economic strata have a tendency to give up their language, firstly in favour of English, and secondly in favour of Kannada

(ii) When compared to the attitude of this upper class, the middle and lower class people are to a certain extent retaining their linguistic identity.

However, in general, Iyengars have a tendency to assimilate themselves into the cultural (not religious) and linguistic milieu of the dominant language. But, irrespective of this tendency, the ethnic identity is strongly retained.

The linguistic convergence experienced by the Iyengars is due to many reasons. An intuitive analysis of the author indicate the following hierarchy of reasons: Note, however, that this hierarchy cannot be applied to all cases.

(1) Period of stay

(2) Use of Tamil in limited domains

(3) Non-exposure to Tamil script

(4) Socio-political pressures

(5) Extent of bilingualism

(6) Loss or Zero attitude towards the linguistic identity.

(7) Retention of knowledge of Tamil and the quality of retention of the same in the previous generation plus its pertinence to religious adherence and values attached to such adherences.

Extent of Convergence in Bangalore Iyengar Tamil

A few examples from the speech of the Tamil Iyengars settled in Bangalore may be given as illustration to point out the extent of convergence that has taken place.

Phonological Level

The phenomenon of devoicing

As per the phonological pattern of Tamil spoken in Tamil Nadu (TT) the intervocalic unvoiced stops get voiced though the orthography shows the unvoiced symbol. In Bangalore Iyengar Tamil (BIT) this phenomenon is not regularly observed, in the sense that the intervocalic sounds are pronounced as such without any voicing, in conformity with the phonemic pattern of the Kannada speakers

Tamil	*Kannada*	*BIT*	
a: -h-ale	a: -k-ale	a:-k-ale	'not possible'
ka-d-e	ka-t-e	ka-t-e	'story'
pa:-ḍ-õ	pa:-ṭ-a	pa:-ṭ-a	'lesson'

Word initial voicing

In certain lexical items, which are common both to Tamil and Kannada, a difference is noticed only in the word initial sound. In such lexical items Kannada has word initial voiced sound whereas TT has voiceless sound. In BIT, uniformly word initial sounds are pronounced as voiced as against the usual Tamil pronunciation which is voiceless.

Tamil	*Kannada*	*BIT*	
ka:yam	ga:ya	ga:ya	'wound'
ku:ḍu	gu:ḍu	gu:ḍu	'nest'

kiḷi	giḷi/giṇi	giḷi	'parrot'
ka:raṇam	ka:raṇa	ga:raṇa	'reason'
peṭṭi	buṭṭi	beṭṭi	'basket/box'

Whereas one could also interpret the use of such words as 'ga:ya' 'gu:du' and 'giḷi' as borrowed directly from Kannada, the use of 'ga:raṇa' and 'beṭṭi' cannot be treated in this manner, since no such words are used in Kannada. Thus, this usage in BIT is an evidence for the underlying rule which leads to word initial voicing of voiceless stop consonants of TT in BIT.

Loss of word final - m

Another interesting phenomenon observed in BIT is the loss of proto-Dravidian word final -m. The word final -m has different reflexes in different Dravidian languages. While both Tamil (spoken) and Kannada lost this word final nasal leaving no reflexes, Tamil has compensated the loss by nasalizing the last vowel. BIT, however, has adopted the Kannada pattern rather than retaining the Tamil feature.

Tamil	*Kannada*	*BIT*	
ka:yõ	ga:ya	ga:ya	'wound'
ka:raṇõ	ka:raṇa	ga:rana	'reason'
payõ	bhya/baya	baya	'fear'

Use of /ə/

In Kannada the central vowel /ə/ has not been pointed out by ancient or modern Kannada grammarians. According to Bright (1958) /ə/ occurs as a separate phoneme only in some idiolects. Hiremath (1961) suggests that the Dharwar dialect has developed this phoneme. He gives some contrasts of this vowel in all positions.

In Kannada spoken in Bangalore, this vowel is noticed, and also in BIT. In BIT, occurrence of /ə/ is frequently observed. However, in all the utterances so far observed, this vowel occurs only in the initial position and displaces mainly the unrounded vowels /a/ and /e/ of Tamil.

Tamil	*BIT*	
ange	ənge	'there'
enakku	ənakku	'for me'
epḍi	əpḍittu	'what kind,' 'how'

Lexical Level

In addition to interference at the phonological level from the dominant language (Kannada), one notices also lexical interference of various sorts in BIT, thus making BIT partially unintelligible to a TT speaker who is not exposed to BIT.

The frequency of such lexical interference in BIT is very high. Following are some of the BIT sentences with lexical items from Kannada. The Kannada lexicals are underlined. Each BIT sentence given below is followed by its corresponding Kannada sentence.

Equational sentence

ava etru	(BIT)	'She is tall'
avaḷu etrava:gidaḷe	(Kannada)	

Verbal sentence

paṭsi on tale me:l ha:riddu	(BIT)	'Bird flew over my head'
hakki nan tale me:le ha:rtu	(Kannada)	
ne:ttekki na:yi bogiḷtu	(BIT)	'Yesterday the dog barked'
ninne na:yi bogaḷtu	(Kannada)	

Lexical choice

budva:ru vartukku a:gRada?	(BIT)	'Can you come on
buduva:ra baraka:gatta?	(Kannada)	Wednesday?'

Adverbial

palu hasara ikkiRna	(BIT)	'The fruit is green'
haṇṇu hasra:gide	(Kannada)	

Use of Personal Termination

Use of Personal Termination (PT) in BIT is an area which is marked linguistically a highly fluid one. For example, in Kannada, two sets of PT are in use, one to denote the past and future (band enu 'I come'; baru enu 'I will come' and the other to denote the present, (barutte: ne 'I come',) whereas Tamil has only one set of PT to denote all the tenses. BIT has adopted the Kannada pattern even with Tamil verb roots, though at times it also follows the Tamil pattern.

(i) Tamil verb root with Kannada (Ka) and Tamil (Ta) PT in BIT

(a)	aḍitt- e:n	(Ta)	'I bet'
	aḍipp- e:n	(Ta)	'I will beat'.
	aḍitt- ini	(Ka)	'I am beating'.
(b)	po:n- iri	(Ka)	'You (pl) went'
	po:vi:-ṅga	(Ta)	'You (pl) will go'
	po:ri-ṅga	(Ta)	'You (pl) are going'

(ii) Kannada verb root with Tamil PT

(a)	ha: ri n- enu	'I flew'
	ha:ru v- e:n	'I will fly'
	ha:rur- e:n	'I am flying'

(b)	ha:rin-a	'You (sg) flew'
	ha:ruv-a	'You (sg) will fly'
	ha:rur-a	'You (sg) are flying'

Note that the same speaker uses both the type of PTs, namely, Kannada verb root plus the Tamil PT, and Tamil verb root and Kannada PT in his speech. No conditioning factor, either at the phonological level or at other levels of language, can be identified. This is, indeed, an excellent illustration revealing the dynamics of convergence that is taking place.

Use of dative case marker

The use of dative case marker further illustrates the fluid state of BIT. TT uses *avaluku* 'to her' as dative case for which the equivalent form in Kannada is *avalige* 'to her'. BIT employs both these case markers. Again no conditioning factor can be given for this type of alternative usage.

Use of negation

Negation is yet another area where we find BIT making considerable deviation from the TT.

The past negative construction in TT consists of the structure verb stem + infinitive suffix -a and the negative suffix -le.

var-a-le 'did not come'

Future negative is formed by replacing the negative marker -ma:tt in the place of -le.

var-a-ma:tte:n 'will not come (I)'

Kannada has also a similar construction found in Tamil. That is, the past negative construction in Kannada consists of verb stem + infinitive marker -al + the negative marker - ills.

bar-al-illa 'did not come'

In addition to this, Kannada has a past negative construction by the addition of past participle form and the negative marker.

band-illa 'did not come'

The non-past is expressed by a verbal noun + negative construction.

baruvad-illa 'will not come'

In BIT, it is commonly observed that the past negative is formed by the addition of past participle to the negative marker, which is not found in TT. Note also that BIT does not employ the process of past negative formation as found in TT. This clearly indicates the unidirectional movement of BIT towards the dominant language, Kannada. The following sentences illustrate the convergence in BIT as regards to negation.

(a)	na:ṅgainnu pa:ttille	(BIT)	'We have not seen yet'
	na:vu innu no:dilla	(Kannada)	
(b)	ave ne:RRekku vandille	(BIT)	'He did not come yesterday'

In the above paragraphs, I have given a few instances where BIT has undergone change owing to the constant influence of Kannada in the Urban setting. It is possible to give many more examples involving different types of change. For additional categories of changes see Sam Mohan Lal (1986).

Convergence in a tribal setting

We shall now consider the aspects of convergence between two languages in a tribal setting, in a setting that involves a tribal language and a dominant cultivated language.

Uralis are a minority tribal community speaking a 'language' called Urali which is a dialect of Irula, a South Dravidian Language (Sam Mohan Lal, 1981). The Urali speaking settlements focused in this study are in the Sathyamangalam Taluk of Periyar District in Tamil Nadu, situated in the trijunction hill tracts of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala, at an altitude of 1105 metres above mean sea level. Uralis are a pre-literate community and are a higher pastoralist group partly indulging themselves in agriculture and mainly engaged in the collection of forest produce. Though much is not known about their migrating period etc., it is understood that they have migrated originally from the Nilgiris in search of food and new land according to the legend and the prevailing folk tale. There is a belief among them even now that the spirit of a person will go to the Nilgiris after his death. Their 'language' is linguistically near to Irula language of the Nilgiris. Apart from this, however, Uralis have no social or linguistic contact with the Irulas of Nilgiris. Perhaps we should view Urali a closely related dialect of Irula, with its original contact with Irula completely cut off.

While Urali is only a spoken language, the Iyengars of Bangalore have lost their original contact with the Tamil writing system. Though the reasons are different, the net result is the same in the sense that both the communities do not have a writing system. Moreover, most of the Uralis are illiterates with very little knowledge to read and write Tamil. On the other hand, most of the Bangalore Iyengars are literates in one language or other but in a language other than Tamil. The Urali tribal children are educated only in Tamil. Most of them are bilinguals in Tamil and Urali. As we found among the Bangalore Iyengars, the use of the Urali mother tongue also is restricted only to their family domain and among the members of the same ethnic group. For all other purposes, including those of the day to day tribal and non-tribal interactional purposes, the Uralis have to use Tamil. Thus, this tribal community is totally embedded in this situation where the dominant language plays an important role.

Upon careful observation, it is possible to describe the speech variety of Urali into two categories, namely, the speech of the older generation and of the females who have lesser contact with the outer world and the speech of other male adults and members of younger groups who have a range of varying contacts with other groups, mainly Tamil speaking non-tribals. Hence, certain special features of Urali

are retained in the speech of the old and of the women. Also, the international pattern of the first category is characteristically different from that of the second, whereas the speech variety of the younger generation does not show these peculiar features and are also becoming more converged towards the dominant language.

Urali Convergence with Tamil

Phonological Level

At the phonological level, Tamil, Urali and Irula share five vowel phonemes /a, e, i, o, u/ and their long counterparts /a:, e:, i:, o:, u:/. In addition to this, Irula has additional centralized series of vowel phonemes corresponding to each vowel phoneme and its long counterparts, namely, /ä, ë, ï, ö, ü,/ and /ä:, ë:, ï:, ö:, ü:/ (Perialwar 1979). In the case of Urali also centralized vowel phonemes are observed, but also noticed are certain irregularities in the phonemic pattern.

For example Urali does not have two centralized vowel phonemes /ï/ and /ö/ and their long counterparts in its phonemic system, thus leaving a 'structural hole' in the phonemic pattern. In Urali, the above mentioned two vowel sounds are pushed to the allophonic level. Also, it is revealed that when compared to Irula, the frequency of the lexical items involving centralized vowels is very much less in Urali. In the data collected, no lexical item has either /ü/ or /ü:/ in the word initial position.

Taking certain characteristics of Urali into consideration, it is possible to speculate that it is in the process of losing the centralized character of the vowels from its phonemic system and that it may develop into a speech variety with only five short vowels /a, e, i, o, u/ and their long counterparts in its phonemic system, just as in Tamil. My speculation is based on the following reasons.

(a) Words which do have centralized vowels in Irula do not have centralized vowels in Urali. Following examples may be helpful to illustrate the point.

Irula	*Urali*	
ügurü	uguru	'nail'
ä:ppi	a:ppi	'cow dung'
köy	key	'hand'

(b) Frequency of the words having centralized vowels in Urali is lesser in number compared to that of words in Irula.

(c) Limited positions of occurrences.

(d) Loss of certain centralized phonemes.

(e) In the present day spoken Tamil dialect /u/ in word final position is uniformly pronounced as [ɯ] with a spread quality. It is a feature not found in Irula, but, in Urali, it is predominantly observed.

Above cited are some of the examples where we can see the systematic change involved in the minority linguistic code, Urali. Moreover, the reason for such a

change can be clearly attributed to the dominant language involved in that area, Tamil.

Morphological Level

Inclusive and Exclusive distinction

Presence of an inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronoun is noticed in Urali as against Irula where the first person plural pronoun na:nu serves both inclusive and exclusive functions. The presence of both inclusive na:nu and exclusive na:me in Urali may be due to Tamil which maintains a distinction between exclusive na:ṅga and inclusive na:ma.

Conclusion

So far we have considered two areas having complex problems connected with minorities who are embedded in the dominant linguistic environments and are always subjected to strong exertion of pressure from the changing socio-cultural conditions which caused variations in the sociolinguistic conditions of the minorities.

In the above studied situations we have found that the forces of change within the minority communities are so strong that the languages of the minorities are undergoing a systematic partial shift. In the minority vs. dominant linguistic environment, I have described in this paper, the tendency of language change is seen always towards the dominant language. The reason for such a unidirectional process of change are mainly found in the relative role and status of the societies involved.

The extent of linguistic change is such that it is visible predominant in both the cases once a time gap comparison is undertaken, that is to say, there is a remarkable difference between the speech pattern of the older generation and the younger generation both in the case of Iyengars and Uralis. The speech of younger generation always as more influence of the dominant language concerned. Moreover, in the case of Iyengars, the younger group has been so influenced that their production and comprehension found that whenever their parents talk to them in Tamil they avoid using that language; instead in most of the cases their answer will be either in Kannada or in English. The selection of their linguistic code generally depends on the socio-economic class they belong to and with whom they interact.

Among Uralis, as discussed earlier the younger generation and men have their spoken language influenced move with Tamil when compared to the women and the old people's speech who have lesser contact with the dominant language. The reason for such phenomenon is obviously lack of contact with the dominant language of the area (Tamil).

On careful analysis of the Sociolinguistic conditions and the resulting linguistic change, the following questions may be raised for further research as convergence and shift in the area.

1) What levels of language are more easily affected?
2) What is the nature of the item affected? (essential, just ordinary, free varying, completely replacing whether the item is of a deeper type acquirable only through native sensitivity etc.)
3) Is there a pattern established within a level? and
4) Can patterns be found or established at different levels ?

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Colophon

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Script Reformation in Bengali : A Proposal

Bakul C. Chowdhury

Introduction

It has since long been felt by the scholars of Bengali that Bengali spelling system need some modifications to meet the sound value which is existing at present. Even without entering into the spelling system claims some modifications to meet its present needs, because there is a great deal of anomalies between the spoken forms and written forms of the language. The problem of spelling is deep rooted in the script of the language. Since the language is subjected to change, once suitable graphemes may not be suitable for all the time. This is reflected at phonological, morphological and syntactic levels of the language. The syntactic structure used by Kirtivas, for example, is not the same with that of the present day verses in Bengali. The syntactic style used by Bankim Chandra is not the same, with that used in the newspapers of the day. Same is the case with the phonological structure too. The inherent vowel "ɔ " after a consonant in the word final position has since been disappeared in modern Bengali. As the change in a language is a natural phenomenon this cannot be checked by any artificial means.

Written form of any language is nothing but the graphemic (or pictorial) representation of what people speak. As the spoken language is represented in terms of distinct speech sounds (phones) so the written language is represented in terms of graphemes. Any acoustically distinct change in the phonemic system of a given language should also adequately be reflected in the ostensively distinct change in the graphemic system of the language. Though writing system is closely connected with the language, the changes in the language does not reflect in the writing system unless some careful steps are taken towards the same. It is not that natural law does not operate here. Inscriptions and ancient manuscripts attest evidences of changes in writing system. This is mostly because of the fact that the writing system itself bears certain conservative character (viz. storing of writing materials and invention of printing technology) and partly because of our emotional attachment for maintaining the conventional writing system. So any change in the age-old convention that strikes out eyes spurs us on react immediately. Of course, this attitudes never works in favour of the development of the language.

With the advent of the age the written variety of the language should also change keeping pace with the spoken variety of the language because of the facts;

(1) That Discrepancy between spelling and pronunciation.

(2) That change is natural.

(3) That changes takes place in all levels why not in spelling system.

(4) That writing is the representation of the language so it must follow the changes as per language.

(5) That inscriptions, ancient manuscripts show how writing system has been changed. Let us remove the man made barriers and change the writing system which has been stopped artificially. On the contrary, let us compensate in by opening the channels of scientific means.

Several thoughts were given for the reformation of Bengali script but no major achievement has been attained so far. Once again let us look into the matter and reopen the question of reforming the script. To begin with let us consider the following facts:-

(1) The letters of the language are to provide a means of representing graphically the phonemes of the language.

(2) There should be one to one correspondence between graphemes and the phonemes that they are intended to represent.

(3) There should be no ambiguity in the graphemic representation of the phonemes.

However, in the existing system of writing in the languages of the world, we hardly find these ideal conditions fulfilled. Bengali script also show a lot of deviations from the principles delineated above. If we agree with the above mentioned points reform the script, it will be easy to analyze the language scientifically and there will be no problem to keep pace with the advent of new technology.

Bengali script developed from Kutil script based on Sanskrit pronunciation. Though Bengali has developed from OIA, through MIA, due to phonological changes some phonemes of Sanskrit do not exist in modern Bengali, but the graphemes of the lost phonemes do exists in Bengali writing system. For example, in Sanskrit there are three sibilants Š Ṣ S represented by शी, षी, सी Following this model Bengali also have three graphemes, viz., শ, ষ, স respectively, although Bengali do not possess phonemic realization of these graphemes. These three graphemes represent only one sound, i. e., š. Similarly Sanskrit has five nasals which are represented by five graphemes viz. /ŋ/, /ñ/, /ṇ/, /n/, /m/ although in modern Bengali there are only three, viz., /ŋ/, /n/, /m/. But in Bengali script, we have five graphemes, viz., (ঙ), (ঞ), (ণ), (ন), (ম), following the model of Sanskrit. In Bengali, the pronunciation of Sanskrit semi vowel /y/ became /j/ in certain environment (initially). This poses confusion. Original palatal affricate (জ) and the newly developed palatal affricate out of Sanskrit semi vowel /y/ are same but the later represented by (য) following the Sanskrit model. The original pronunciation of Sanskrit 'y' also exists and represented by an innovated grapheme (য়) in certain environment which has no correspondence in Sanskrit writing system.

In Sanskrit, there are phonemic differences between short and long vowels, whereas this differences are absent in modern Bengali though in Bengali writing system still continuing short and long vowel graphemes following the model of Sanskrit.

Modern Bengali has developed a new sound /æ/, to which corresponding sound is not available in Sanskrit. Old Bengali /e/ became /e/ and /æ/ in modern Bengali, but after the emergent of new /æ/ sound, no new grapheme has been introduced to represent the new sound. The one and only grapheme (এ) is used for both the sounds, i.e., /e/ and /æ/ as a primary symbol.

In Sanskrit, /ṛ/ is vowel sound. But in modern Bengali there is no such sound. Sanskrit /ṛ/ became (ri) in Bengali. This is nothing but the combination of the consonant /r/ plus vowel /i/ which may be represented graphemically as "(রী)"

There are 25 diphthongs in Bengali which are represented graphemically by sequences of vowels excepting two, for which separate graphemes are used, viz., (ঐ) and (ঔ). If other 23 diphthongs can be represented by sequences of vowels these two can also be represented by sequences of vowels.

As we know Bengali uses 30 graphemes including allographes for only 7 vowel phonemes (except nasalized phoneme) and for 29 consonant phonemes 40 graphemes (except cluster graphemes and small or big size printing types) are used. Hence, there is a vast scope for re thinking in this direction and to reform the script to bring it more on the line with the principles we have already discussed above. This will facilitate the script to be more economical, scientific and less adhoc and to impart less burden for the first as well as the second language learners. An attempt in this direction has been made in this paper.

It is worth mentioning here that the allographs of vowel phonemes of the connecting consonants which are traditionally been used before the consonants graphemes should be written after the consonant graphemes because of the fact that, for example ; when we pronounce "ki" (কি) or "ke" (কে) then what we exactly write is "ik" (ইক) and "ek" (এক). Hence, as the vowels follows the consonants in question during pronunciation so the writing of vowel allographs after the consonants grapheme are much more justified.

Secondly, Bengali do not have phonemic differences between short and long vowels, in fact, existence of only short vowels are found, hence only one allograph for /i/ (◌ী) and one for /u/ (◌ু) can serve the purpose.

Third, we find a great deal of anomalies in the usage of /e/ (এ) and /æ/ (অ্যা). There should be two different distinct graphemes along with their respective allographs to represent these two phonemes. Hence, for the new phoneme /ae/ (এ) as a primary symbol and (◌্য) as a secondary symbol may be suggested. The

secondary symbol for /e/ (এ) should be written on the right side of the concerned consonant. (◌ে) .

Fourth, the traditional secondary symbol for /o/ (ও) is (ে◌া) which is really very unscientific because of the fact that half portion of the same occurs before and the rest is after the concerned consonant. Hence the symbol 'o' for the purpose may be suggested to use after the concerned consonant.

Fifth, /ṛ/ (ঋ) can be eliminated since it is pronounced like /ri/ (রী)

Finally, the diphthong /oi/ (ঐ) and /ou/ (ঔ) may be eliminated and the sequence of vowels (ওই), (ওউ) could be used instead of these like the other 23 diphthongs present in the language (according to S.K. Chatterjee).

Similarly, we can also minimize the consonant graphemes :

(1) The graphemes (ত) and (ৎ) is used to indicate one phoneme /t/ so the grapheme (ৎ) " half " /t/ can be eliminated

(2) Among the two graphemes (জ) and (য) which stands for phoneme /ž/, the grapheme (য) can be eliminated.

(3) Among the five graphemes (ঙ), (ঞ), (ণ), (ন) and (ং) used for nasal phonemes, keeping (ন) and (ঙ) other three graphemes can be eliminated (either (ং) or (ঙ) can be retained).

(4) Among the graphemes, (র), (র্◌) and (◌্র) for the phoneme /r/ keeping only grapheme র other two can be eliminated.

(5) Among the three graphemes (শ), (ষ), (স) according to pronunciation only one sibilant (শ) /s/ can be retained since the remaining two are allophones.

(6) Among the two graphemes (হ) and (ঃ) for the phoneme /h/, only (হ) can serve the purpose.

(7) The usage of (◌্) to indicate the absence of inherent vowel will be as it is.

With the above mentioned system of spelling, it will be easier for the learner to pick up the language and at the same time the effort the learner has to spend for memorizing the spelling could be utilized for creative thinking. This system can also be more scientific and economical.

Vowel Phoneme		*Traditional Vowel Symbol*		*Proposed Vowel symbol*	
/i/	ই (short)	ঈ (long)	primary s symbol	ই	primary symbol
	ি◌	◌ী	secondary symbol	◌ী	secondary symbol

/e/	এ ে◌	অ্যা ্য ্যা	"	"	এ ◌্য	"
/ae/	এ ে◌	অ্যা ◌্য ◌্যা	"	"	এ ◌্য	
/a/	আ ◌া				আ ◌া	
/ɔ/	অ				অ	
/o/	ও ো				ও ◌°	
/u/	উ ◌ু	ঊ ◌ূ			উ ◌ু	
	ঋ ◌ৃ				রী	
	ঐ ৈ◌				ওই ◌° ই	
	ঔ ৌ				ওউ ◌° উ	
	~ ◌ঁ				◌ঁ	
e̯	য় (semi vowel)				য়	

Consonant phoneme symbol	*Traditional Consonant symbol*	*Proposed consonant symbol*
/p/	প	প
/ph/	ফ	ফ

/b/	ব			ব		
/bh/	ভ			ভ		
/t/	তৎ			ত	(ৎ)	
/th/	থ			থ		
/d/	দ			দ		
/dh/	ধ			ধ		
/ṭ/	ট			ট		
/ṭh/	ঠ			ঠ		
/ḍ/	ড			ড		
/ḍh/	ঢ			ঢ		
/k/	ক			ক		
/kh/	খ			খ		
/g/	গ			গ		
/gh/	ঘ			ঘ		
/c/	চ			চ		
/ch/	ছ			ছ		
/j/	জ	য		জ	(য)	
/jh/	ঝ			ঝ		
/m/	ম			ম		
/n/	ন	ণ	ঞ	ন	(ণ)	(ঞ)
/n/	ঙ	ং		ং	(ঙ)	
/l/	ল			ল		
/r/	র			র		
/ṛ/	ড়			ড়		
/ṛh/	ঢ়			ঢ়		
/s/	স	শ	ষ	শ	(স)	(ষ)
/h/	হ	ঃ		হ	(ঃ)	
	্			্		

□

Language Simplification : The Kannada Case

S.S. Yadurajan

Introduction

Language standardization, simplification purism, reformation and such other processes have contributed to the varying degrees of change in languages. Whereas there are instances of language being benefited by such processes, there are instances of growth of languages being checkered. These processes have at times elevated languages to independent status whereas in some other cases the independent identity of languages has been threatened. There are instances of all the above mentioned processes amalgamating into a single language movement, as in the case of Hindi, but invariably they have been separate though the repercussion of particular process has contributed to one or more processes occurring simultaneously.

Historical Background

Historically we have the case of a classical language giving room to its contemporary spoken language as a consequence of the process of simplification in the form of Sanskrit. Whereas two interpretations are given for the emergence of Prakrits gradually from spoken version to languages of literature and administration, as evidenced by Asokan Inscriptions, the failure of Sanskrit to function as the language of communication with all the sections of the society is a historical truth.

The fact that the Prakrits replaced Sanskrit as the official languages by the period of Middle Indo Aryan and gradually got the better of Sanskrit as successful languages of communication with all the sections of the society should be regarded as the result of collective operation of all the process of standardization, codification, simplification etc. In fact, multiplicity of language movements has the been part and parcel of the socio-political, and cultural history of this country giving rise to pluri-ethnic, pluri-cultural and pluri-linguistic country. They have been interpreted in different ways. Such movements can aptly be summed to have had two main focuses.

(1) Concern with the nature and form of the standard and/or the language of masses.

(2) Concern with the political demands involving elevation of separate state or administrative units based on linguistic and cultural consideration, granting

of certain rights and privileges, including the use of language in education, administration and mass media. (Mishra, B.G. (1979) Language Movements in the Hindi Region, in E. Annamalai (ed.), *Language Movements.*)

The case of Kannada has been of a different type with the marked influence of foreign rule and religious forces as well contributing to elevating the language to the pedestal of administration. Going through the history of Kannada literature one can discern three major attempts of language simplification.

1. Āṇḍayya's Kabbigara Kaava
2. Basaveswara's Vachanas
3. The rule of Hyder Ali and Tippu.

Āṇḍayya's 'Kabbigara Kaava' is a chaste Kannada poetic work. His period is 13th century. Āṇḍayya wrote his 'Kabbigara Kaava' when the influence of Sanskrit was maximum on the Kannada language. Not only language, the general outlook was Sanskritic, because the Sanskritic tradition even among Kannada literatures was dominating, and any Kannada writer could hardly pursue creative literary writing without the sound knowledge of sanskrit. The possession of the profound knowledge of Kannada was considered partial in the absence of the knowledge of Sanskrit. In fact, as Āṇḍayya himself says he wrote his work in pure Kannada despite his authoritative knowledge of Sanskrit. This attempt of Āṇḍayya can be called more a puristic approach than one of simplification. Despite the efforts of Āṇḍayya Sanskritic borrowings were wholeheartedly accepted by Kannada writers and are currently in use as well. However, Āṇḍayya's efforts were commendable from the point of view that he showed that the language of masses could be the language of literature as well.

One cannot go further without the mention of Muddaṇa (19th century) the author of another chaste Kannada work 'rāmāsvamēdha'. Even though the mention of Muddaṇa here upsets the chronology of the simplification attempts being discussed here. Muddaṇa's is a classic example of Kannada prose, and one of puristic approach, and is similar to Āṇḍayya's effort. What Āṇḍayya tried to achieve in poetry, that was tried by Muddaṇa in prose. One cannot say that Muddana wrote in simple prose, but his prose is lucid one.

The efforts of both Āṇḍayya and Muddaṇa are commendable as they attempted to bring chasteness to the language by setting aside the Sanskritic tradition. There was a semblance of simplistic approach since the use of Sanskrit in Kannada literary domain had given a feeling of complexity in understanding.

The Beginning of Simplistic Movement

It took nearly three more centuries for the real simplistic movement to set in. This movement was initiated by none other than the doyen of Veerasaiva movement king Basavesvara. Basavanna, as he is commonly known, was a philosopher, social reformer and a literatcur, all three in one, when the Sanskritic tradition was riding

high in the field of literature and religion, there was a flutter. In the words of Dr. Prabhushankara, this period is 'the Age of Revolution'. The Veerasaiva saints and spiritual aspirants, who had brought about a perceivable change on the social science by eradicating caste and other social differences breathed fresh life into literature too. They created a new literary form 'Vachana' poetic prose and used it to communicate their spiritual aspiration, experiences and also their moral sermon ('Down the Corridors of Kannada Culture', *The Hindu*, 15.12.85). The movement spearheaded by Basavanna which was limited to the domain of religion and literature spread to other domains. Since Basavanna was an administrator turned social reformer, the effect of his movement was discernible in day today speech as well. Basavanna's call for simplicity in action and thought for his Vachanakaras did influence the common folk as well. Conveyability was the hallmark of the Veerasaiva saints, and their prime idea to get their religious ideas permeate to the lower strata of society necessitated the use of similies, metaphors and imageries of everyday speech. Harihara, Nambiyanna, Allama, Mahadevi, and a score of Veerasaiva saints not only followed Basavanna in their philosophical thought but in the call for simplicity of expression. If Andayya's and Muddana's efforts could not get the same thrust as the one of Basavanna, the reason was that they were individual movements, not mass movements. Contrarily to this, the movement initiated by Basavanna was soon became a mass movement and the fact that Basavanna had the advantage of being an administrator provided the necessary momentum for it to spread to other domains. One will be wrong in identifying the simplistic trend only in the Veerasaiva movement by leaving out the Haridasa movement, which was contemporary to the Veerasaiva movement. Ideologically speaking, the two movements had the same purpose in mind and did achieve a good success.

The birth of the thirteenth century saw the choice of music for putting forth the most complex of religious tenets and philosophical ideas in the simplest form of the spoken language aptly couched in musical compositions. Thus the conveyability of ideas in simple language suitable for the common folk was successfully done.

This set the trend for the use of simple language and all through the chronology of Kannada language and literature, the simplistic approach picked up the pace.

Use of Simple Language for Administration

The historical outline given above was mainly in the sphere of literature. But the impact on the use of language in other domains cannot be ignored. The call for simplicity in language was started with the proponents of Bhakti. But with that shift in the literary tradition the shift in the other domains was clearly discernable. Several inscriptions of Chalukya and Rastrakuta period reveal the use of simple Kannada for administrative purposes. Even though the use of simple Kannada for

administrative use was initiated by the earliest Princely rulers of Karnataka, the Kandambas, in as early as 450 A.D. as found in the Halmidi inscription. The use of Kannada in this domain did not catch momentum either in style or speed. The following examples reveal the style of administrative language of the old Kannada period.

'Kannaradeevana maryaadeyalaada
sunkada maryaadeyam tappade
nadeyim'

The above is an order passed by the king Kannaradeeva (Raaṣtrakuuta) who won against Aahavamalla (Chalukya). He orders that the same facilities which were provided to them by the former king be extended to the people.

'Mahaaraayanu Vaaysnavara darsnakkeyuu
Jainadarsanakkeyuu bhedavillendu
raayanu vaisnavara kayyalin jainara
kaivididu kottu ii jaina darsanakke
puurva maryaadeyali pancamahaa
vaadyangaluu kalasavuu salluvude,
jaina darsanakke baktara deseyinda
haanivrudhi yaadaruu vaisnava
haanivrudhiyaagi paalisuvaru'.

The above judgement, in the context of a religious controversy between Jains and Vaisnavas was issued by the king Bukkaraaya.

The development of Kannada as administrative language can be seen in three phases.

1. Pre-British Period
2. British Period
3. Post Independence Period

Pre-British Period

The above cited two examples are from the Pre-British period. The period saw many native rulers of different clans and also the rule of Muslims, and the Marathas. The major change in the style of administrative language as also the use of administrative vocabulary was seen during this period. Whereas the native rulers showed a depthness in coining administrative terms to suit the need and always strived for the use of simple language for achieving greater degree of conveyability, the infuse of Parsi, Marathi, Urdu words into Kannada and the modeling of administrative patters on the style of the donor language can be seen in the later part of the pre-British rule. No doubt the administrative system was streamlined to a greater extent during the rule of Tippu and Hyder Ali, but many native Kannada words such as kappa, dandaaya, aava, niiruni sunka lost currency. The greatest change can be noticed in the coining of new terms for different profession as

evidenced by such words as hujuur, khaavand, subeedaar, amaldaar, tahasildar etc. The enriched use of such words in administrative contexts and the attempted direct translation from Marathi, Urdu, and the consequent unfamiliarity of structural patterns by the common people widened the gap between the administrative language and the spoken language. Added to this, the tendency of the people in power to use more and more of literary style in administrative domain gradually impaired the intelligibility of this language.

The British Period

The British period saw the use of Kannada more and more which could be viewed as a positive step.

Scores of British administrators contributed significantly by learning the language systematically, publishing basic books in Kannada, preparing dictionaries in the earlier stage and insisting on the local administration to use Kannada more and more in administration. The impact of British administration on Kannada language can be viewed from two angles. On the one hand, the publication of such books as 'A Selection of Stories and Revenue Paper', 'Coins of South India' and 'Hindu Inscriptions' by Valter Elliot (1846), 'Mohammedan Law' and 'Coorg Law' by Robert Cole (1863) in Kannada and the emergence of magazines such as 'Saalaa Patrikaa' by Russel, 'A Canarese School Paper', 'A Guide to Police' all in Kannada should be viewed as a significant contribution of the British. On the other hand, the British also got translated many administrative manuals into Kannada with the help of Kannada writers. Notable among them are — Narayana Iyyengar, H.V. Chinnmulagunda, R. Venkatasubba Rao and etc. Sidlaghatta Ramaraya's 'Saaksya Saastra Bhoodhini', Vakiil's 'Gayd', T.G. Moben's 'Looka Vyavahaara Bhoodhini' and H.V. Nanjundayya's 'Vyaapaara Bhoodhini' are some notable contributions. But this attempt by the British had its disadvantages as well, for invariably the language of such books was modeled on English. It is this exercise which resulted in the administrative language becoming more and more complex and clearly eroded the simplicity achieved by the native rulers in the pre-British period.

The Post-Independence Period

The propagation of English education in a large scale in the pre- independence and post-independence periods could be cited as a reason for the increased complexity of this register. However, commendable may be the efforts of the British administrators in propagating Kannada as the language of administration and encouraging the local administrators to use Kannada in day to day routine administrative matter, the impact of English on Administrative Kannada Language, was so great, and the traces of English left over by the British after independence was so deep rooted in the minds of administrators one can with substantial evidence conclude that the efforts of the British to use the vernacular as the language of the

administration was counter-productive. The administrative language instead of being natural to Kannada became more and more tougher owing to the embedding of several phrases and clauses and distant references within a single sentence. For example:

ಸರ್ಕಾರಿ ಸೇವಾ ನಿಯಮ

ಸರ್ಕಾರಿ ಸೇವಾನಿಯಮ ಆರನೇ ನಿಯಮದ ಒಂದನೇ ಉಪನಿಯಮದ ನಂತರ ಮತ್ತೊಂದು ಉಪನಿಯಮವನ್ನು ಸೇರಿಸತಕ್ಕದ್ದು, ಅದಾವುದೆಂದರೆ

ಈ ನಿಯಮಗಳ ಮೇರೆಗೆ ಒಂದು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ವೇತನ ಬಡ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆದ ಸರ್ಕಾರಿ ನೌಕರನೊಬ್ಬನು

ಅ. ಒಂದು ಹುದ್ದೆ ಪದೋನ್ನತಿ ಹೊಂದಿದಾಗ, ಅಥವಾ

ಆ. ಉದ್ಯೋಗ ವೃಂದದ ಹೊರತಾದ ಒಂದು ಉನ್ನತ ಹುದ್ದೆಗೆ ನೇಮಕ ಹೊಂದಿದಾಗ ಅಥವಾ

ಇ. ತನಗೆ ಪದೋನ್ನತಿಗೆ ಅವಕಾಶವಿದ್ದು ಒಂದು ಹುದ್ದೆಗೆ ನೇರ ನೇಮಕಾತಿಯ ಮೂಲಕ ನೇಮಕ ಹೊಂದಿದಾಗ ಅಥವಾ

ಈ. ಇತರ ಯಾವುದೇ ಹುದ್ದೆಗೆ ಅಥವಾ ಸೇವೆಗೆ ನೇರ ನೇಮಕಾತಿಯ ಮೂಲಕ ನೇಮಕ ಹೊಂದಿದಾಗ

ಆ ಹುದ್ದೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅಥವಾ ಸೇವೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅಥವಾ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭಿಕ ವೇತನವು ಒಂದು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ವೇತನ ಬಡ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಅಥವಾ ಅದರ ಒಂದು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ವೇತನ ಬಡ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಅಥವಾ ಅದರ ಒಂದು ಭಾಗವನ್ನು ಒಳಗೊಳ್ಳದಿದ್ದಲ್ಲಿ ಮತ್ತು ಆ ಹುದ್ದೆಗೆ ಅಥವಾ ಸೇವೆಗೆ ಗೊತ್ತುಪಡಿಸಿರುವ ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಆತನು ಉತ್ತೀರ್ಣನಾಗಿದ್ದರೆ, ಉತ್ತೀರ್ಣಗೊಂಡರೆ ಅಥವಾ ಉತ್ತೀರ್ಣಗೊಂಡಿರುವುದಾಗಿ ಪರಿಗಣಿಸಿದ್ದರೆ ಅಂತಹ ಹುದ್ದೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅವನಿಗೆ ಒಂದು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ವೇತನ ಬಡ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ನೀಡತಕ್ಕದ್ದು.

In modern periods, there has been a renewed call for using simple language in administration. The focus has been on the use of ‘Sriisaamaanyana Kannada’, i.e., language of the common man. This attempt by the administration can be called as one of revival and restoration setting aside the after effects of British administration. But as long as the translation of manuals, administrative and legal documents from English to Kannada continues without taking into account the lucidity, intelligibility, and the natural flair of the Kannada by language experts the simplification process does not occur. On a historical perspective it could be said that the reverse process of simplifying the Anglicized Kannada is on and there has been an effort to bring Kannada book to square one, considering the extent to which the Vijayanagar emperors, and the kings of Kadamba, Chalukya and Rastrakuta dynasties used Kannada in administration with the sole purpose in mind, i.e., ‘Srisaamanyanige Kannada’.

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Language of Administration : A Case Study of Kannada*

B.Mallikarjun

Structure of Communication

A segment, register comprising of elements that are frequent and essential for functioning in certain specific domains of the users of a language, develops for specific communicative purposes. In this paper, use of language in administration in general and use of Kannada in administration in particular are discussed.

Sub-domains of Communication

In order to understand the structure and functioning of the language used in administration, the communicative process has to be looked at from four angles. These angles form four sub-domains of communication. Each sub-domain has an initiator and a recipient.

Sub-domain	*Initiator*	*Recipient*
1. General	People - Public	Official-Government
2. Public	Officials-Government	People-public
3. Officialese	Officials-Government	Officials-Government
4. Processing and Interpretation	Officials-Government	Officials

The General domain receives applications, petitions, filled in forms etc. from the public to be responded to or processed by the officials of the Government. The Public domain consists of the responses that are being sent to individuals or people in general, but drafted and prepared by the officials for the government on the basis of receipts from public or for those originated within the Government. The officialese domain encompasses all communications between and among various offices, departments and secretariat. These communications are meant for officials only. The Processing and Interpretative domain restricts itself to the processing of the communications received from public and other offices, departments and interpretation of them as and when necessary in the light of rules, procedures and norms of the Government.

General

Most of the communications received within this domain are open ended ones. These open ended petitions, applications, etc., originate normally without any stimulus from the Official-Government. The other types of close-ended responses are responses for the stimulus provided by the Official-Government. They, in general have only required amount of message in the form of details in prescribed

forms. The communications in this domain are normally characterized by elaborate description of items and events and have very less or no technical terms. The repetition of set phrases except the terms of request and address are totally absent. The communication takes place in the language of the people and also in the form actually in use among them. These instances are seen in the maintenance of land records, petitions of the people which happen to be in peoples language even when a foreign language was used in the Government for administration. Hardly one can find a format in the open-ended communications of this domain. Also it is not possible to ascribe a specific standardized format for them.

Public

This is a domain of rich use of language patterns. Also a complicated area from the point of view of language analysis. The variety of language used here ranges from simplest to the most complicated ones. This is so because here the communication is to be carried out with the people of different levels of educational background, comprehension and competence by the persons educated and trained in administration. This being the reality, the message has to be communicated in simple form of the language so as to be comprehended by all facets of target audience. The message also should be unambiguous, short and appealing to its recipients. A blend of the use of administrative terms and common language expressions is required at this level. The communications from the Government go to the people in various forms like letters, notices, tenders, notifications etc.

Officialese

The communications from one office to the other and from pO3 an employee to the other in the form of letters, circulars, notifications, etc., are included in this sub-domain. Here also both sender and recipient are trained to encode and decode the message of the communication.

Processing and Interpretation

This is the interpretive and governing domain where legislation, rules are framed and interpreted. Here the official transactions are also carried out in the language, which may not be the language of the people being administered. Use of English in Karnataka for making legislation, rules, etc., in post-independent India for many years can be seen as an example. The persons using the language in this sub-domain are educated, trained in administrative procedures and they are capable to use appropriate language forms. So, here the interpretations and communications are precise, consist of larger number of technical terms and repetition of set phrases. The communications, here are in the form of 'noting', 'drafts' by the subordinates, supervisors and 'decisions' and 'approvals' by the officers. Similarly, are the formulations of 'orders', 'legislation', 'rules', etc., by the Government.

Mode of Communication

Language of administration is mainly written language communication. This written mode is chosen for the following reasons: (1) continuity in administration demands permanence of the communicated message; (2) the distant communication and (3) authentication of the communicated message. (3) The written mode is further emphasized because it is believed that the oral communication is liable to be ambiguous and subject to wrong decoding. Since the language of administration is a written mode, the distance between the language of day to day communication and the forms of language used in the domain of administration are widened.

Register

The existence of different dialects in a language leads to standardization of a dialect under various social, regional, political, academic and other conditions. As the process of standardization taking place in the common language influences the nuances of the language of administration, so the standardization of language of administration too influences the language in general. The language of administration is a single register with several sub-registers like language used in revenue administration, fisheries, sericulture, industry, etc. The development of this register influences the informative register at all levels of analysis and understanding. It influences on the phonetic system of the language by adding new speech sounds to it. The existing graphemes of the informative register get additional symbols or the graphemes get additional markings or on occasion they get other phonetic values also, thus leading to the changes in the graphemic system of the language. This register consists of sounds and symbols that are not existing in the informative register. May indicate the simplification processes of sound symbol correspondences in case of difficult representations. The language of administration of one region jibes with the language of administration of other regions of the same State, and also across the States within the Federal setup.

Technical Terms

The Technical Terms in administrative language synthesize the possible long statements to precise units of expression leading to specific restricted meanings and bring an end to the possible misinterpretations and possible ambiguity of long statements that are used. In many Indian languages the administrative terms may be borrowed terms or coined terms. These may be borrowings from other linguistic resources or from the past resources of the same language or coined ones with the help of suitable linguistic elements to suit the specific administrative concept. Four tendencies are noticed in the formation of Technical Terms. They are international, national, regional and local. A choice of the appropriate process or processes has depended mainly upon the users of the language and historical reasons constitute to the tendency that develops in it. For example, Hindi exhibits nationalist and Tamil

G3 prefers purist or native tendency. Whereas administrative Kannada has an amalgamation of all the processes to frame the technical terms but heavily draws from Urdu-Persian and English sources. However, it is to be noted that Banking Kannada draws from Hindi and Scientific Kannada draws from Sanskrit sources. The choice of the process also depends upon the characteristics of the target audience. Sometimes certain specified objectives not governed by the users or the target audience may also influence the choice of the process to choose words to represent specific concepts.

Characteristics

Five important characteristics of the Technical Terms are to be noted. They are productivity, transparency, clarity, eligibility and necessity. The basic characteristic is productivity. A term is presumed to be productive if it is possible to create, as many derived terms as possible as and when necessity arises in the language with the help of the basic technical term, using the productive elements of the language. If a technical term is there either by borrowing or by coining or by another process, if it is not productive up to the requirements of the user language it may loose currency and fall into disuse. If a particular technical term is not productive, it is unfit for use as a technical term. One example from Kannada can be cited for this character. In the initial stages of the development of administrative Kannada the word vidye 'education' was used. Gradually, this was replaced by the word 'shikshaNa' education and helped to create terms like praathamika shikshaNa 'primary education', taantrika shikshaNa 'technical education', computer shikshaNa 'computer education' etc. Transparency in the sense, the technical terms of administrative language are opaque. These are not named after a person or plant or place, etc., as it happens in case of other registers like scientific register. Here there is a direct relation between objects and the term and the action referred to by the technical term. Until and unless there is a need for a technical term the question of borrowing or coining of it does not arise at all. When there are two terms for the same concept the question of eligibility of the term arises. Whatever are eligible stays and the unfit terms fade away. Whatever the technical term thus presents has a clear identity with the object or action it refers and is unambiguous.

Grammatical Category

Maximum number of the technical terms are nouns. The derived adjective, adverb or verb forms of these nouns may also be present but as derivatives. The glossaries presenting the technical terms generally do not assign any grammatical category. Also gender and number are not assigned to these technical terms. The technical terms are used to indicate both the females and males. That is in case of technical terms the gender distinction gets neutralized. Also natural gender may not coincide with the grammatical gender. Gender affixes are rarely used to indicate the sex differences of the persons referred to. Normally coined technical

terms are two worded. The un-coined but of a native origin or directly borrowed ones are single words. When two or more words join to form a technical term the case markers and other markers that are supposed to link them together normally drop. The administrative 73 language is characterized by its use of specified vocabulary. The vocabulary used in this register consists of: (1) approximately 80% of the technical terms connected by the form or function words and the rest are taken from the informative register and (2) many of the words taken from the informative register are less frequently used in the informative register.

Phrases

The language of the administration is also known for the exploitation of set phrases. The repetition of set phrases is motivated by several reasons. More often than not, it is the office assistant who puts up the papers and initiates action on receipts. With his educational level, competence in the general, use of language in administrative contexts, and the requirements of his duties, he is expected not to decide but to explain the pros and cons of the cases, and to observe the rules already laid down, are the grounds for the repetition of set phrases. Moreover sanctity by usage and a legal sanction and legal interpretation of the implication of set phrases, orders and rules also contribute to this state of usage. Decision makers fear that use of phrases other than the set phrases might lead to an interpretation other than the intended ones. The set phrases also become in a sense linguistic signs, like words with specific connotation. Lexical innovations in this register by individuals are not generally encouraged. The recipient of the communication more often is also conditioned to the set phrases and he anticipates the same interpretations. In a sense there is a general tendency to become conventional in the use of language in administration.

Sentence Patterns

Every register is characterized by the abridged grammar of the language. Administrative register is not an exception. This register is characterized by usage of a few structures with maximum frequency. Such frequent constructions in Kannada are listed here.

1. Verb-less constructions.
2. Use of prohibitive constructions instead of negative imperative constructions.
3. Use of definitive imperative constructions instead of imperative constructions.
4. Use of passive constructions and verbal noun constructions which bring impersonal impression,
5. Use of derived transitive verbs, and verbs derived from nouns.
6. Non-use or rare use of intransitive verbs.
7. Rare use of constructions with verbs of the informative register.

8. Use of constructions in which a non-human noun is referred to by the human pronoun and usage of human personal ending to the verbs.
9. Use of paragraph sentence constructions.
10. Non-use of 1st and 2nd person pronouns in the constructions.
11. Use of tense less constructions.
12. Constructions rendered in the written style of the language.
13. Constructions using the adverbs that are not in frequent use in the informative register.
14. Constructions using more than one connector.
15. Constructions using the nouns as verbs.
16. Constructions with deleted case markers.
17. Constructions with unusual case markers to the noun.
18. Constructions without figurative.

Formats of Correspondence and their Properties

The administrative language is used in many types of administrative communications. The selection of a format of correspondence is governed by the person or persons addressed to and the content of the correspondence. Thus selected format of correspondence has its own selection of vocabulary, set phrases and a set of sentence patterns. In terms of vocabulary the selection of words is predictable. That is to say that each format of correspondence has a set of verbs that are invariably used irrespective of the content of the subject matter.

Statistical Study of a few formats of Correspondence

In order to understand the pattern of use of vocabulary in the administrative communications prepared in Kannada five communication types: letter, tender, announcement and noting were studied for the language they use. In each category, 25 samples were selected on random basis and the words counted for their occurrence. The result of the tabulations are given below.

Table 1

Sub-Domain	*Letter* *a*	*Tender* *b*	*Announcement* *c*	*Letter* *d*	*Notings* *e*
Average total words	89.3	144	96	92	91.5
Average total recurring words	16.6	65.5	31.3	24.6	40.5
Average total sentences	10	11.2	4.3	6.3	9.5
Average Number of words per sentence	8.9	13	24	15.0	9.8
Ratio of total words to total recurring words	5.38: 0.19	2.20: 0.45	3.08: 0.33	3.74: 0.28	2.26: 0.44

Language Patterns of a few Formats of Correspondence

Table 2

Sl. No.	*Format of Correspondence*	*Domain*	*Pronoun*	*Tense*
01.	Letters	a	I, II, III	Past and Non-Past
02.	Tenders	b	Nil	Non-Past
03.	Announcement	b	Nil	Non-Past
04.	Memorandum	b	III	Past and Non-Past
05.	Letters	c	II	Both
06.	Noting	d	III	Present Perfect
07.	Minutes	d	III	Past
08.	Decisions	d	Nil	Tense-less

Table 3

Sl. No.	*Format of Correspondence*	*Sentence Type*	*Type of Statement*	*Vocabulary Verbs*
01.	Letters	Personal	Descriptive & Explanatory	Verbs from IR
02.	Tender	Impersonal; Passive	Descriptive	Verbs from AR
03.	Announcement	Impersonal & Passive	Descriptive & Explanatory	Verbs from IR & AR
04.	Memorandum	Impersonal & Passive	Descriptive	Verbs from AR
05.	Letters	Personal Impersonal Passive-Active	Descriptive	Verbs from IR & AR
06.	Noting	Impersonal & Personal	Explanatory & Interpretative	Verbs from AR
07.	Minutes	Personal & Active	Descriptive	Verbs from IR & AR
08.	Decisions	Impersonal & Passive	Short	Derived verbs

Observations

The following are the observations on the statistical study of administrative communications in Kannada.

1. Tender uses more words, more recurring words and more number of total sentences in its formats than any other format of correspondence.
2. Letters in the General domain use less number of words and less number of recurring words in each sentence.
3. Announcements carry large number of words in each sentence. The sentences are long.

4. In the official written communication system noting carry more number of recurring words.
5. When letter in general domain and officialese domain are compared the letter in latter consists of more longer sentences and more number of recurring words.
6. The language of administration has to be studied domain wise in order to understand the accurate linguistic structures involved in its communications.
7. More formalized the format of correspondence is, more longer the sentences, more recurring words and more impersonal constructions will be used.

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Linguistic Acculturation: Mysore Marathi

K.S. Rajyashree

Introduction

The study of the phenomenon known as linguistic acculturation or language contact entails prerequisites as follows:

(1) The ethnographies of the societies in contact.

(2) The description of the languages in contact.

(3) The duration of contact.

(4) The nature of contact.

  a. The contact between two or more speech communities of equal status.

  b. The dominance or minority status of the speech communities.

(5) The cause of contact.

  a. Geographical contiguity.

  b. Migration.

(6) In case of migrated population.

  a. The maintenance of contact with home land.

  b. The severance of contact with home land.

(7) The use of respective languages in contact, in different domains.

The focus of the studies of linguistic acculturation may also vary.

(1) Linguistic convergence, that is changes that may occur in the structure of language/s on various linguistic levels.

(2) Attitudes of the members of speech communities towards such changes: their awareness, acceptance, indifference or resistance to the change.

(3) Problems faced by the members of the speech community to maintain their ethnic identity or separate linguistic identity.

(4) The shift in linguistic identity.

(5) Language attribution.

The present paper explores an extended language contact situation resulting from the migration of one community to a different linguistic region, for a considerably longer period of time, with a little or no contact with the main land and focuses on the changes in the structure of language at different linguistic levels.[1]

Background

The community under discussion is that of the Marathi speakers in the state of Karnataka in South India, which consists of 1,187,058 people, that is 4.04% of the total population of the state[2]. Marathi, an Indo-Aryan language, is spoken by

approximately forty-one million people in the state of Maharashtra, on the west coast of India. Kannada, the official language of the state of Karnataka belongs to the Dravidian language family and is spoken by approximately twenty million people.

The present day Marathi speakers in Karnataka are either descendants of Marathi speakers who migrated approximately 300 years ago, or have come under the state of Karnataka due to linguistic re-organization of states. The major population of Marathi speakers in Karnataka belong to the second category, as in the districts of Belgaum, Dharwad and Bidar, which were parts of Bombay Presidency, before re-organization of linguistic states. 45% of the total Marathi speakers from Karnataka are concentrated in Belgaum district with next highest proportion of 15% in Bidar district.[3]

The Marathi speakers in Karnataka, who are descendants of the migrated population are concentrated in Mysore and Bangalore districts. The initial migration into Karnataka was due to the establishment of a small Maharashtrian principality in Bangalore district towards the beginning of 17th century. Shahaji, a Maratha Saradar, captured Bangalore and made it his headquarters during 1639 A.D. He transplanted many Maratha families from Maharashtra for military and administrative work. There were later migrations of Marathi speakers during the 19th century, with British army camps[4]

The present study is based on the population of Marathi speakers from Mysore which is 3.19% of the total city population and is concentrated in two— three pockets of the City. This population represents a language contact situation resulting from the migration of an Indo-Aryan language speaking community to a Dravidian language region, for a considerably longer period of time, of about minimum 150 years, with a little or no contact with the main land, that is Maharashtra.

Linguistic Profile of the Community

Members of the Marathi speaking community in Mysore, still use their native language, but it is generally restricted to the home and to interaction with the immediate and extended family essentially for in group situations. The preferred second language is Kannada, the state language of administration. Most members of the community speak Kannada with native fluency and seem quite at home conversing with Kannada speakers in all types of social interactions. Most of the members of the community in Mysore city have very good control of Dakkhini also. (This may be because of the fact that they are concentrated mostly in the Muslim dominant areas, as well as in occupation, the main competitors of Marathi speakers are Muslims). Thus the community is clearly bilingual, although the individual members are aware that they can be identified as a separate linguistic group. The objective criterion of separate language usage is sufficient to distinguish the Marathi speakers as a separate community from the rest of the Kannada population and this seems to be reinforced by the subjective criterion,

namely, the awareness of their distinct linguistic identity on the part of the Marathi speakers. This is also substantiated by the fact that since 1891, from when the census records are available, the number of Marathi speakers has not altered in any substantial way.

Although Marathi speaking community in Mysore is aware of their distinct linguistic identity, they do not have or wish to have writing and reading skills in Marathi. Even most of the personal letter correspondence or the religious literature in Marathi language is written in Kannada script. There could be several reasons for this. First of all, the level of education among this community is very low and majority of them fall into lower income group. Literacy is a recent phenomenon in this community and most of the school going population is of first generation learners. There are no empirical data which indicate that these people had the writing-reading skills in Marathi and have shifted to Kannada in the course of time. It may be possible that the members of Marathi speaking community acquired skills of writing and reading through Kannada, the state language of administration and then, did not feel the necessity to acquire those skills in Marathi from either functional or identity point of view.

Another reason for the indifference of the Marathi-speaking community, towards the acquisition of writing - reading skills may be their occupation. In contrast with the situation in Tamil Nadu, migrant Marathi community in Karnataka, shows absence of Brahmins as a group within the Marathi speaking community. They belong only to non-brahmins castes either Kshatriya or tailors. Majority of the Kshatriyas are farmer class or join military and security services. Majority of the tailors continue their traditional occupation, either in their own tailoring shops or working for others. Those who are not tailors are in related areas of business, mostly cloth merchants. Very few of them hold white collar jobs and even fewer are in any high status professions. No caste group comparable to the Marathi tailors exists in the dominant Kannada population. (The only competing class is of muslim tailors). Because of this social reality, the Marathi speakers in Karnataka under study might not have felt a need to develop writing - reading skills in Marathi to establish a separate identity or to establish a link with main land area.

As far as links with main land through marriage are concerned, Mysore city Marathi community shows a very bleak picture. Their marriage networks show that most of the marriages are arranged within the relations or in small zones. Though there are rare instances of marriages where one of the parties belongs to Maharashtra, in all the cases observed, they belong to the border areas of Karnataka and in general the last preference for marriages seems to be Maharashtrians. Comparatively more number of instances are found in marriage relations between Mysore Marathi speakers and Tamil Nadu Marathi speakers.

The only link which connects the Marathi speaking community of Mysore to their original home region of Maharashtra is their religious ideology and behaviour. They are worshipers of Panduranga or Vittal, a deity associated with an old and popular sect in Maharashtra, the Varakari sect. This popular sect still survives and

has a large following all over Maharashtra. One of the important marks of affiliation with this sect is the semi annual pilgrimage to Pandharpur, which is situated in Maharashtra, where the oldest temple of this deity is located. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, a number of Marathi saints composed devotional songs in praise of the deity, and these are still popular among Marathi speakers both within and outside Maharashtra. In many places in Karnataka with large Marathi populations, temples of Panduranga have been built and are usually under the control of the local community associations. In all these places, there exist active bhajan (devotional songs) groups which meet every week to sing the devotional songs in praise of Panduranga by saints poets. The interesting phenomenon is observed in this domain of religious behaviour of Marathi speakers. Apart from Bhajans, which are in Marathi, the other prayers are in Kannada. In the absence of Marathi Brahmins, the priestly functions are carried out by Kannada priests in Kannada.

The languages to which the Marathi speaking community is exposed to, through mass media are either Kannada or Hindi. It was found in the survey of Mysore City Marathi community, none of the people listen to any Marathi programmes from All India Radio, but they listen to Kannada broadcast and Hindi songs. Educated Marathi speakers holding white collar jobs listen to English news. In the functions such as marriages or the religious ceremonies records of Kannada and Hindi devotional and film songs are played.

It is also observed that there are no associations which would unite the whole Marathi speaking community. The associations such as 'Bhavsar Kshatriya Seva Samaj' are mainly based on caste and look after the welfare of Bhavsar community. Its activities are primarily religious and the weekly Bhajan meetings or other religious functions give opportunity for the members of the community to get together. Other than this, these organizations are not concerned with uniting other Marathi speaking sub-castes or developing or renewing links with home land, or with the revival of their native language.

To summarize, the retention of Marathi in home domain does not necessarily create a generic Marathi identity as it is sub-divided by small caste identities. As a result, conscious manipulation of the linguistic identity for assertion of minority rights is also lacking. Though the language is retained over a long period, the bond with Marathi home land is not strong[5].

Linguistic acculturation : Change in the structure of Marathi

The linguistic features of Mysore Marathi show convergence between Marathi and Kannada at all the linguistic levels. The phenomenon of code-mixing and code-switching is also found to be usual aspect of the speech behaviour of the members of this community. Some of the features of convergence could be illustrated at various linguistic levels as follows. The basic distinguishing features of Mysore Marathi from that of Standard Marathi are the initial glide with front vowels /i/ and /e/ and back vowel /o/, the redistribution of aspirations such as loss

of aspiration in some cases and addition of aspiration in other cases, weakening of aspiration, and simplification of clusters. But it is interesting to note that in most of the Indian languages the aspiration is a distinguishing feature, between standard and non-standard varieties and some other dialects of Marathi also show these features.The distinguishing features could be found on morphological level in most of the word classes. Some of the examples are discussed below.

PNG suffixes

The person, number and gender suffixes show a different pattern in present tense, 1st person.

Standard Marathi		*Mysore Marathi*	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
M — to	— to	— to	— tuya
F — te		— tuy	— tāv

[M- masculine, F- Feminine, /-t-/ present tense marker]

Plural and oblique formation

Plural and oblique formation shows that by and large the same rules of Standard Marathi operate in Mysore Marathi with a few exceptions. For example, /-c#/ masculine nouns have plural marker /-Ø/ in Standard Marathi and /-a/ in Mysore Marathi. In some other cases also plural markers are different, such as,

1		/savāsṇ/	'a married woman'	
	plural	/savāsṇi/		Standard Marathi
		/savāsṇyā/		Mysore Marathi
2		/Bhāu/	'brother'	
	plural -	/Bhāu/		Standard Marathi
		/Bhāva/		Mysore Marathi

For general rule about such differences further investigation is needed.

Numerals

Mysore Marathi follows the same pattern of numerals as in Standard Marathi till 'twenty' numbers but afterwards the order of numbers changes. For example, the number 'twenty one' in Standard Marathi is, / ekvis / = /ek + vis/ = 'one + twenty', but in Mysore Marathi it is / visāvar ek / = / vis + ek / = 'twenty + one'. In kannada it is /ippattandu/ = /ippattu + ondu / = twenty + one.

This is a Dravidian feature which is not found in any of the dialects of Marathi in Maharashtra, including bordering dialects of Maharashtra and Karnataka.

Ordinals in Mysore Marathi also show the influence of Kannada. In Standard Marathi, the first four ordinals are different from the rest of the pattern, such as /pahilā/ 'first', /dusrā/ 'second, /tisrā/ 'third', /cauthā/ 'fourth' and then from the fifth onwards /va/ suffix is added to the numerals, as in /pacva/, /sahāvā/, etc. However, in Mysore Marathi, /va/ suffix is added from the 'first' onwards, as in /ekva/, /donva/, /tinva/, /cārva/, etc. The parallel in Kannada are /wandane/, /yeraḍne/, /mūrne/, /nākne/...etc.

The ordinal 'first', that is, /pahilā/ is, however, retained in the language by Mysore Marathi speakers in some cases. For example, when the ordinals are used as adjectives for time, as in 'first time', 'second time' and so on, Mysore Marathi uses ordinal /pahilā/.

Mysore Marathi	*Standard Marathi*	*Kannada*	*Gloss*
/pahilun/	/pahilyāndā/	/mudle/	'first time'
/donvindā/	/dusryāndā/	/yeraḍnesāri/	'second time'
/tinvindā/	/tisryāndā/	/mūrnesāri/	'third time'
/cārvindā/	/cauthyāndā/	/nāknesāri/	'fourth time'

Ergative constructions

Ergative constructions are not found in Mysore Marathi. For example,

1. rāmne poḷi khālli — Standard Marathi
2. rām poḷi khālla — Mysore Marathi

In the above sentences, verb is in concord with object in the first sentence while it is in concord with subject in the second, which is a typical Dravidian feature.

Negations

Negations are made in Mysore Marathi with Kannada rules. The negative suffix /nā/ is added to the verb to make negative constructions instead of Marathi rules of negations where negations are made with auxiliary verb /nāhi/. For example,

/te āmhi khāināt/		Mysore Marathi
/te āmhi khāt nāhi/		Standard Marathi
/nāvu adu tinnāllā/	'we do not eat it'	Kannada

But in case of past tense, Mysore Marathi has the same rule as Standard Marathi. For example,

/mi te kām kelo nhāi /	Mysore Marathi
/mi te kām kela nāhi /	Standard Marathi
/nānu ād kelsā māḍlillā /	Kannada

Auxiliary verbs

In Standard Marathi the auxiliary verb /ṭāk/ is used to express completion aspect while in Mysore Marathi the three auxiliary verbs, namely, /ṭāk/, /soḍ/, and /ghāl/ are used in free variation. (from the data available so far). The two other verbs are direct translations of auxiliary verbs used in Kannada for the expression of the aspect of completion, as

/hāku/	=	/ghāl/	'put'	
/biḍu/	=	/soḍ/	'leave'	
/ te kām karun ghāl /				Mysore Marathi
/ā kelsā māḍ hāku /			'finish that work'	Kannada

OR

/ te kām karun soḍ /		Mysore Marathi
/ā kelsā maḍ biḍu /	'finish that work'	Kannada

Morphophonemic change

There are certain verbs in Marathi which undergo morphonemic change before taking past tense suffixes. In Mysore Marathi these verbs do not undergo change but take the suffixes directly. For example, the verb /kar/ 'to do' /kar/ → /ke-/ past tense suffix / -1i as in /mi kela/ ' I did '. But in Mysore Marathi past tense suffix /-1/ is directly added to the root /kar-/, as in /mi karalo/.

OR

The verb /ho/ →/jhā/ and then takes the past tense suffix /la/ as in /te jhāla/ - 'that happened'. But in Mysore Marathi, past tense suffix /-1/ is directly added to the root /ho/, as in /te hola/ 'that happened'.

In many such cases the morphophonemic changes are not seen in Mysore Marathi.

It can be seen from the data available, that there are certain areas of lexicon where the Marathi lexical items are preserved, and certain other areas where extensive borrowing is found. Some of the preserved words have become archaic in Standard Marathi and are no more in use. Some of the words are in vogue in the non-standard varieties of Marathi in Maharashtra. There are instances of blending and loan translations.

The lexical items mostly dealing with vegetables, fruits, eatables, dress, fashions, etc., seem to have heavy lexical borrowing from Kannada, English and Dakkhini, while the lexical items dealing with ingredients of masala, marriage customs or other typical words expressing cultural behaviour, vocabulary dealing with their occupation, such as tailoring, etc., are still maintained in Marathi.

Conclusion

Mysore Marathi shows a clear influence of Kannada on all linguistic levels. This is evident compared when with the convergence found in the bordering dialects of Maharashtra and Karnataka, it shows striking similarity[6]. In Belgaum district of Karnataka, which is on the border of Maharashtra, the language contact situation is quite different from that of Mysore. First of all, as has been mentioned earlier, Belgaum was a part of Bombay Presidency before re-organization of linguistic states, and 45% of the total Marathi speakers in Karnataka state are concentrated in Belgaum district. In Belgaum city, Marathi is a language of majority community. Marathi speakers in Belgaum have contacts with Maharashtra. The status of Marathi in Belgaum is not the same as in Mysore. The domains in which Marathi is used in both the places are different. The language contact in Belgaum is due to geographical contiguity. The only common aspect in both the speech communities seems to be the native control of both the codes, namely, Marathi and Kannada by all the members of the speech community. When

the process of convergence seems to be strikingly similar in Mysore and Belgaum, it leads to following conclusions.

Similarity between the convergence at two different language contact situations in Belgaum and Mysore may be because of the historical and cultural contexts. Borders of Karnataka and Maharashtra have remained unstable during historical times.

Thus, part of the present border of Karnataka has remained under the Maratha rule while at other times the parts of present Maharashtra has remained under the Kannada rule. From approximately 10th century onwards Marathi was spoken in these border areas. Not only political power but the religious ideologies have been binding factors for both the states over centuries. This has lead to convergence of linguistic features and miscegenation of cultures. The similarities between the convergence at Mysore and Belgaum, irrespective of the different language contact situations, in terms of the status of native language, the nature of contact, attitudes of speech community towards languages, domains of language use, links with home land of Marathi, etc., may be the identical responses to a contact situation, due to the historical-cultural context.

Another explanation for the striking similarities between convergence at these two situation may be because of the fact that, the Maratha Saradar, Shahaji, who was responsible for the migration of Marathi speaking community hailed from the Kolhapur - Satara region of Maharashtra. It is possible to interpret the features of Mysore Marathi to be pre-migration features and the present situation to be mere retention of those features, and the additional features of convergence as later changes.

Notes

1. The data were collected by three methods; first, participant observation of the community; second, interviews with leaders of the groups, the office-holders of associations and respondents and finally, recordings of conversations and particular lexical items. The sample was a respondent group in that it proved impossible to adequately randomize the sample in a statistically meaningful sense.
2. Census of India 1971. Portrait of population: Mysore.
3. Census of India 1971. Portrait of population: Mysore.
4. This information is from, Narayan Rao, 1968. The same pattern of migration is found in the Tamil Nadu Marathi speaking community.
5. Apte, M.L. observes the similar situations in the Tamil Nadu Marathi speaking community, which shows the same kind of linguistic situation.
6. The data from bordering dialects were collected for the study of "Standardization of Marathi" during 1974-75.

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Modes of Greetings in Punjabi

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Introduction

Modes of greetings have their own value in the sociology of language. Greeting is the primary necessity that satisfies the socio-psychological need of individuals in a given society. Greeting is not regarded merely a usage of certain norms, but it is a social ritual which is governed by the situations in which the greeter says what is expected by the greetee in one way or another. It is used either to welcome or to say good-bye. In this paper, an attempt has been made to discuss different types of greetings forms used by Punjabi native speakers. To investigate the use of greeting forms data have been collected from literary texts and observations.

Verbal and Non-Verbal Greeting

In every greeting situation, two persons come in contact in a particular ethnic situation, which is characterized by means of some paralinguistic features like gestures, statements etc. Goffman (1963:91) has called it an 'ethnography of encounter'. An in other languages, in Punjabi there are two types of modes of greetings, i.e., (1) verbal and (2) non-verbal. Both types of greetings can either be formal or non-formal. Verbal greetings appear in the form of utterance of greeting phrases like *nə*məste, sət səri əkal pɛ *ri pɛṇa* etc. Non-verbal expressions and gestures of greetings may include folding of hands, smiling, nodding, hugging, closing of eyes, bowing of head and twinkling of eyes etc. Though there is a difference between these two types of greetings, but both of them are characterized by social setting, context and interpersonal relationships. Mostly, non-verbal greeting gestures and verbal greeting utterances are combined in an actual situation. Both verbal and non-verbal greetings are used in different kinds of formal and non-formal situations.

Most of the fixed verbal greetings are used both in oral conversation and in writing. Usually, formal verbal greeting forms are used in writing. In rural areas, it is observed that a large number of illiterate people do not use formal greeting forms but start their conversation by the non-formal verbal forms like:

1. 'oe, tũ kədõ aIa'
   o, you when came
   'When did you come?'
2. a bəi vira, kIvẽ aIa e
   come on brother why came is
   'Come on brother, what brings you here?'

Sometimes, employees of lower socio-economic status do not use modes of greetings for greeting superiors. A husband and a wife generally do not use formal verbal greeting terms for greeting each other. The same is true among children. A daughter-in-law in rural areas always greets her elders by formal non-verbal forms of greeting.

Usually, formal greeting forms are also used in a situation when one wants to apologize someone or seeks help of others. The literal meaning of a few greeting phrases are not relevant in many cases. They are characterized by some sort of mystifications as in the examples:

3. cə̃ga pher mIlãge
   O.K later will meet
   'Expecting to see you later'

4. ki haI ɛ əmlia
   what condition is Amlia
   'Amlie, how are you?' (BSG 1959:40)

5. ki haI caI hɛ
   what condition is
   'How are you?'

To enquire about greeter's health is a common social ritual in Punjabi community. (It does not mean that greeter has gone through an ailment).

Modes of greetings also vary from culture to culture and society to society. Every culture has some stereo-typed non-verbal greeting forms peculiar to it, like folding of hands, kissing, embracing, bowing, salutation, handshake and touching of feet. In Punjabi culture, greetings like embracing, touching of feet and handshake are common in use (but other gestures like kissing, bowing and salutation are used in specific contexts). Kissing on the forehead or on the cheeks is possible in a context when parents greet their children. When two persons having familiar relations or close intimacy meet occasionally, they generally embrace each other (common among the adults and old people).

Educated people of equal status and same sex shake hands and greet by verbal forms like 'hello'. In certain formal situations, greeter and greetee fold hands and shake both hands, but in other situations only with single hand. Friends of equal status always greet each other by verbal greeting forms and non-verbal gestures like handshake, pat on the cheeks or back, closing of eyes etc. When there is an intimacy between greeter and greetee, the age factor has not come in the way in such situations.

Greetings are also related with etiquettes. A greeting has no value unless a person has proper etiquette. For instance, refusal to extend one's hand for handshake and turning one's face away from the greeter will amount to a bad etiquette in a greeting situation.

In the contemporary modern society in Urban areas, the parents greet their son by the form 'hello'. The son also greets his parents in return by the same greeting in a formal verbal form.

6. hɛlo beṭa sáb
   Hello son (Hon)
   'Hello! son!' (KSD 1954 : 12)
7. hɛlo əmmi
   Hello mother
   'Hello! mother!' (KSD 1954 : 12)

In a formal situation, a younger person folds his or her hands while uttering the formal modes of greeting:

8. nəməste, ãnṭi
   Namaste, aunt
   'Namaste, aunt' (KSD; 1954:68)
9. set səri əkal, prá ji
   Sat Sari Akal, brother (HON)
   'Brother ! Sat Sari Akal.' (KSD; 1970:26)
10. adab, caca jan
    adab uncle (HON)
    'Adab, uncle'. (D: 1973:110)

In a formal situation, sometimes a greetee slightly bends down while shaking hand with the greeter. This gesture shows extra politeness and respect.

Verbal greetings are avoided in a few situations which might involve disturbance to others like while watching a play, a movie, listening to a lecture, or any serious action in progress. Physical distance and intensity of emotion also prevent the use of verbal greetings. In such type of situations, non-verbal greetings like smiling, nodding of the head, facial gestures, lifting and waving of hands are used. Strangers may or may not use formal greetings before starting a conversation.

Like verbal greetings, non-verbal greetings are also used in formal as well as in informal situations appropriate to contexts.

Fixed and Alternative Greetings

In Punjabi, two types of greetings are used (1) fixed greetings and (2) alternative greetings. In fixed greetings, most of the responses can be predicted. In alternative greetings, responses may vary from person to person and according to situation.

Among the fixed greeting forms between, Hindus, *nəməste*, nəməškar are very frequently used. *nəm*əste is less formal than *nəm*əškar. əməste and *hɛ lo* are generally used among friends, colleagues, acquaintances and strangers more or less of equal status. *nə*məškar is frequently used in formal situations. The greeting forms *ram-ram* and *jai ram ji ki* are mostly used by illiterate and less educated people, and usually by those who have migrated from U.P. and Bihar to Punjab. *jai ram ji*

ki is more formal than *ram - ram*. The use of the fixed address forms is not always reciprocal. Sometimes, their use varies according to the status of participants and situations. For example, a labourer and a junior will use *nə*mə̌škar or *jai ram ji ki* for the person of higher social status and may receive *nə*məste or a nonverbal, or non-formal greeting form in return.

Among the fixed formal greetings between Hindus and Sikhs *sə*t səri əkal, hɛ *lo* and *nə*mste are used by Hindus to greet Sikhs. Verbal forms *sə*t səri əkal or *hɛ lo* are frequently in use. The term nəməste is rarely used as compared to *sə*t səri əkal or hɛ *lo*. These terms are used to greet persons of more or less equal social status and age. These greeting forms are used both in formal and non-formal situations by taking into account different social factors.

The verbal forms of greetings that are mostly used by the Sikhs to greet Hindus are *sə*t səri əkal and *hɛ lo*. Though *nə*məste and nəmə̌škar are also used to greet Hindus but comparatively rarer than *sə*t səri əkal and *hɛ lo*. These greeting forms are used to greet people of equal status and age both in informal as well as formal situations.

Among the fixed verbal greetings forms between Sikhs, *sə*t səri əkal and hɛ *lo* are generally used to greet seniors and friends of more or less equal social status. The verbal greeting form *va gUru ji ki fə*te, *va gUru* is generally used among Sikhs to greet saints, religious priests or granthis (who recite hymns of *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*), *sevadars* (workers in Gurdwaras) and to those who perform ritual ceremonies. These terms of greetings are uttered by the Sikh religious leaders, saints, etc., in addressing religious or social congregations.

Mostly Sikhs use ədaberz, səlam and *hɛ lo* as modes of greetings for addressing the Muslims and get the return the same terms. Muslims also address Sikhs by *sə*t səri əkal, though this is not very frequently used.

Among the fixed greeting forms, Muslims use əslam aləikum, ədabrz and *adab* in addressing another member of the same community. In response to the greeting form əslam aləikum they normally get the greeting form *valə*ikum səlam in return.

There is a reciprocal use of ədabarz, ədab, səlam, hɛ *lo* between a Hindu and Sikh. Very rarely a Muslim may address a Hindu by *nə*məste or *nə*mə̌škar; and address a Sikh by *sə*t səri əkal. Educated Muslims may use neutral greeting term *hɛ lo* also in certain situations.

It is to be noted that the fixed verbal greeting forms can be used both in formal as well as in non-formal situations depending on the participants and contexts. Another important aspect of the use of these forms is that mostly there is a reciprocal use of the fixed greeting forms.

Alternative Greetings

Alternative greetings are of two types: formal and non-formal. The expressions used for alternative greetings may enquire about general well-being of the addressee, indicate respect towards the addressee, indicate affection, good

wishes or blessings from elders for young ones. The examples of formal and non formal alternative greeting expressions are given below:

Formal

	Greeter		*Greeter*
11.	ki hal e ? what condition is 'How are you?'	11a	mérbani kindness 'Your kindness'.
		11b	dua e tUàḍi blessings are your 'your blessings are with me'.
		11c	ṭhik e, tUsĩ dǝsso well is you say 'I am fine, how are you?'
		11d	cõga e good is 'I am fine'
12.	tǝ̀kṛa e ?	12a	hã̃ tUàḍi kIrpa e yes your kindness is 'Yes, by grace of your kindness'
13.	kĩve gUjer rǝ́i e how pass-ing is 'What is going on'	13a	rǝb di kIrpa e God of kindness is 'It is a kindness of God.'

Non-Formal

The non-formal alternative greeting forms are mostly common among friends.

	Greeter		*Greeter*
14.	sUna yar khub ṭhaṭ ne say friend much glory is 'Do you enjoy yourself'?	14a	moj k rda ã̃ enjoy doing are 'I am enjoying myself'.
15.	ki hal cal e What condition is 'How are you?'	15a	hǝ̀zur di mérbani majesty of kindness 'Sir, it is your kindness'.
16.	kĩve cǝ̀l rÍa e how go-ing is 'How are things going on?'	16a	sǝ̀b hǝ̀zur di mérbani all majesty of kindness 'Sir, it is all your kindness'.

Non-Verbal greetings also appear in alternative responses.

Examples:

17.	m ttha ṭekda forehead bowing 'I bow (my) forehead'	17a	jUg jUg ji eternity live 'May you live long'!

17b rəb tɛnũ raji rkkhe
god to you well keep
'May God keep you healthy'!

17c rəb tɛnũ pUttər deve
god to you son give
'May God bless you with a son'

18. pɛri pɛṇa
feet is fall
'I touch (your) feet'.

18a jĩuda rə́vẽ
living remain
'live long'!

These greeting forms are used for elders for when respect is intended. They are also combined with the gesture of bowing or touching the feet. In informal non-verbal greetings, gestures are used to greet concerned persons. Gestures like bowing ones head, touching of feet, etc., are very common. The elders, in their response, also use gestures in giving blessings, etc.

In Punjabi, welcome forms combined with terms for good wishes are also used as modes of greetings. e.g.

19. jiaeã nũ bɛṭho (KSG 1970:34)
welcome to sit
'Welcome and sit down'.

20. tUsĩ vi bIrajo prĩsipəl ji (KSG 1970:30)
you also take seat principal (HON)
'Mr. Principal, (please) take your seat'

21. tosrif rəkkho, mənejr sáb
Mr keep manager HON
'Mr. Manager, (please) take your seat'.

22. a kUṛe tamba, a kəĩ dIna tõ nəi ai (BSG 1959:56)
come girl Tamba come several days from not came
'Come on Tamba, where were you so long?'

Greeting phrases related with one's health and of well being are invariably used in Punjabi..

Examples

23. ki hal cal e, təkṛa e ləmbəṛdar (HS 1965:64)
what condition is, fine is lambardar
'How are you? (Mr. Lambardar, are you fine?)

24. sUṇa yar khub ṭhaṭ ne (BSG 1972:90)
tell friend very enjoy is
'Tell me friend, are you enjoying yourself well'

25. raji e kUṛe (HS 1965:64)
well is daughter
'Daughter, are you fine?'

26. ki hal e tìe (BSG 1972:91)
what condition is daughter
'Daughter, how are you?'

The following types of greetings are used by near and dear ones, when they meet after a long period of time. It is a common feature among orthodox people to make use of such type of compliments:

27. tũ te bót kəmjor ho gəi e mɛ̃ te tɛ nũ pəcchaṇ vi na səki
you also very weak become went is I also to you recognize EP not could
'Yes have got so weak, I could not recognize you'.

Some modes of greetings are related to a particular religious community. For example, the following greeting forms have their meanings in the practice of Sikh religion only:

vá gUru/ vá gUru ji ki fəte/ vá gUru ji ka khalsa,

vá gUru ji ki fəte (The khalsa belongs to God, may God victory be yours:)

While addressing an audience at audience at religious gathering or a congregation, such type of greetings are used in which glory of God is praised. Blessings in the name of God are also used as modes of greetings like:

28. rə̃b tUàḍa pəla kəre
God your welfare do
'May God bless you'!

29. rəb tUànũ pUttər deve (BSG 1959:54)
God to you son give
'May God bless you with a son'!

30. rəb tUàḍi sét bəṇai rəkkhe
God your health made keep
'May God keep you always healthy!'

31. rəb i rakha hɛ
God only protector is
'God protects (all)!'

When the younger people bow down to touch the feet of elder ones, the elders give their blessings with reference to greeter's health, prosperity and longevity, e.g.

32. jUg - jUg ji (Sekhon 1974:84)
long live
'May you live long!'

33. cə̃nga péi jĩnda rəve (BSG 1970-57)
well brother live remain.
'Brother may you live long!'

34. tũ pUtra - jUg - jUg jivẽ ga (JSK 1970:24)
you son (VOC) eternity live will
'Son, may you live long!'

35. jiũdi rə́vɛ̃, teri bel və́de (BSG 1959:25)
live eternity your creeper increase
'Live long and prosper'.

36. bÚḍ suágən, dúd pUtt vali hove (BSG 1959:54)
old whose milk son of be husband is living
'May your husband live long, and be blessed with son'

37. bəcce jivla (BSG 1959:54)
child live long
'Child, may you live long!'

*sə*dke jãvã is also a form of blessing which is very commonly used by elder one's

38. mɛ̃ sədke jãvã apṇe pUtte te (BSG 1959:22)
I call go own son of
'May my life be added to my son'.

Correlation between Modes of Greetings and Modes of Address

The modes of greetings are deeply correlated with the modes of address. The modes of greetings are used before a conversation is started and also before parting. The greeting forms are mostly used first by the youngsters for elders or by juniors to seniors. The greetee then reciprocates by the use of appropriate modes of greetings. The modes of address can be commences by any participant irrespective of his age, status etc.

Generally, modes of address are used alongwith the modes of greetings. The forms of address may either precede or follow the greeting forms.

(1) Modes of address + verbal greeting

ḍakṭər sáb	+	nəməste/sət səri əkal
šərma ji	+	sət səri əkal
ə̃nkəl/ãnṭi	+	nəməste
caca/mata ji	+	ram - ram
bibi	+	nəməste

(2) Verbal greeting + Modes of address

səlam	+	sáb
sət səri əkal nəməste/h lo	+	ḍakṭər sáb
nəməste	+	ãnṭi / ə̃nkəl
sət səri əka	+	prá ji / sərdar ji
hɛlo	+	sə r
pɛri pɛnã	+	pàbi / mã ji
ədab	+	caca jan

Examples are as follows:

39. sədt sədri ədkal práji (KSG: 1970:26)
Sat Sari Akal brother (HON)
'Brother, Sat Sari Akal'.

40. nədmədste ãnṭi (KSD 1954:68)
Namaste aunt
'Namaste, aunt'.

41. pɛri pɛṇã pàhi (BG: 1972:93)
feet touch sister-in-law
'Bhabi, I touch your feet'.

42. əccha bibi nədmədste (KSD: 1954:68)
well bibi namaste
'Bibi, namaste.'

43. hɛlo sIvəl sədrjən sáb (KSD: 1954:83)
Hellow, civil surgeon sahib
'Hello, Civil Surgeon Sahib'.

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A Contribution to Error Analysis: Phonological Errors of Hindi Speakers learning Urdu as L2

S. Jamal Mohammad

Introduction

Historically, the attempt to discover and explain the characteristics of second language phonology has been approached from a number of perspectives. The Contrastive Analysis (CA) approach proposed by Lado (1957) assumes and claims the existence of errors mainly due to interference from the native language and attempts to probe where such deviations will occur. But in real sense and practical situations, the errors in different areas predicted by CA do not actually exist in the strength assumed. The Error Analysis approach advocated by Corder (1967) examines speakers competence without any pre-conceived notions as to their cause. Since the errors as specified by Corder are real and attested deviances they are non-random and systematic in nature. The errors are significant because, the CA mainly stresses emphasis on the teaching materials and methods while in Error Analysis (EA), the errors studied, tell us about the second language learner's learning process, adopting, rejecting and reformulating different hypotheses. The errors analyzed show that about 63% of the total 620 errors are attributed to dialectal and first language interference, while 37% are attributed to other interalingual factors. The CA does not account for the errors caused by factors other than transfer/interference while the EA's results are the features attested to real difficulties of the learners. This paper attempts to bring out such attested phonological deviances and their causes.

Method

Subjects and Procedure

For the present analysis, corpus has been collected from the learners of Urdu from Hindi speaking states. Some data have been collected from the answer sheets of their examinations which were later on confirmed through speech of these learners. Some errors have been collected from their spontaneous speech in class. This procedure is adopted because it is observed that when a task is given for recording, the learners become aware and thus try to produce accurate forms for that moment.

Analysis and Results

The analysis reveals 4 types of errors. The errors collected are first categorized and classified and then explained. Wherever possible their causes have also been

informed. Total 620 errors have been collected and distributed in 4 types, namely, (1) transfer errors, (2) errors due to overgeneralisation, (3) errors due to false hypothetication and (4) errors due to incomplete application of rules, i.e., performance errors.

Total Errors	620				
Interalingual or transfer/interference errors			390	—	63%
Intra lingual errors		230	—	37%	
Total intralingual errors	390	620		100	
Errors due to Dialectal or MT interference		125		33	
Errors due to first language interference		254		67%	
		390		100%	
Total intralingual errors	230				
Errors due to overgeneraliation		115		50%	
Errors due to performance failure		95		41%	
Errors due to false hypothetication		20		9%	
		230		100%	

Intralingual Transfer Errors

Errors due to Dialect Interference

Due to dialect interference many changes occur in the speech of the learners. The standard Urdu lexical forms are changed resulting sometimes a semantic change and sometimes meaning loss. Such change may be viewed as:

1. Labiodental semivowel/v/becomes voiced bilabial consonant before vowels in CV/CVC/CVCV/CVCVCVC/CVCVC syllabic patterns.
   This tendency is one of the most wide spread tendencies found in the learners from upper Himachal Pradesh and from Northern Hill districts of U.P. This tendency seems to be a result of Historical change in the phonological system of the dialects of these areas. Moreover, it is also a reason that articulation of a labiodental semivowel is much difficult as against the articulation of voiced labial consonant.

Examples:	v/wo	<	bo	(meaning loss)	'those'
	v/wāpos	<	bāpos	"	'back'
	vadi	<	badi	"	'valley'
	vəkālet	<	bəkālet	"	'law practice'
	rāvon	<	rābən	"	'a name'
	jəvāb	<	jəbāb	"	'answer'
	bivi	<	bibi	"	'wife'; 'sister'

The word biwi 'wife' undergoes a semantic change when spoken as bibi which means 'sister'. The other words spoken by learners thus loose their meanings. This tendency is not, however, found in the word final position for the reason that under simplifying process /b/ for /v/ is not preferred by the learners. It is also interesting to note the reversing tendency of the use of semivowel for a bilabial voiced stop

consonant /b/ in word initial and medial positions restricted to only one occurrence, i.e., to say that if /b/ occurs more than one time, only one /b/ will be replaced by /v/. It happens because in the dialects of those areas the /v/ is not a semivowel but a bilabial consonant and have a lacs articulation. Hence, it is a result of simplifying process.

	b →	w		
Examples:	bāg	wāg	(meaning loss)	'garden'
	barls	wārls	"	'rain'; 'heir'
	bāzār	wājār	"	'market'
	bābət	bāwət	"	'for'
	dllbər	dllwər	"	'beloved'
	mutāblq	mutāwlk	"	'accordingly'

Here also the meaning of the words is lost.

2. Voiceless palatal fricative /š/ is preferred over voiceless alveolar fricative /s/. This is also a significant process in the learners from the northern Hill districts of UP, Eastern UP and MP. Even it is observed in the learners from Rajasthan. This process takes place because in these dialects /š/ is more frequent as against /s/. Hence learners from these areas use /š/ frequently over /s/.

	s →	š		
Examples:	səbzi	šəbji/sebzi	(meaning loss)	'vegetable'
	səlām	šəlām	"	'greeting'
	sāhəb	šāb	"	'sir'
	sāf	šāf	"	'clean'
	āsāni	āšāni	"	'simpleness'
	xās	khaš	"	'specific'
	xālls	khallš	"	'pure'

3. A long vowel is reduced to a short vowel restricted to the first vowel in a syllable of a word.
Since it is a common feature in Panjabi that all long vowels such as /ā/ /i/ and /ū/ are neutralized by the short vowel /ə/. The learners from Himachal Pradesh whose mother tongues are greatly influenced by Punjabi reflect this process in the words like:

	/ā i ū/ →	/ə/	
Examples:	āxIr	əkhir	the in last'
	qānūn	kənūn	law'
	bimār	bəmār	ill'
	tūfān	təphān	cyclone'
	xak	khək	sand'
	jāgir	jəgir	'land award'

Errors due to First Language Interference

Largest transfer errors have been noticed due to the interference of first language of learners, i.e., Hindi. If we look at the phonological contrasts of both

Urdu and Hindi, we would notice that sounds like /f/q/ /x/ /r/ and /z/ do not exist in Hindi.

Urdu	*Hindi*
/q/	/k/
/f/	/ph/
/z/	/j/
/x/	/kh/
/ɣ/	/g/

All other sounds of Hindi do exist in Urdu hence, there is no problem of the utterance as such. Since these phonemes do not exist in Hindi, the learners from all the Hindi speaking states use those sounds which they feel near to them in Urdu. It is due to the assumption that the old phonological habit cannot be changed in a short time and that the new habit is regularly influenced by the old habit. Hence, they use counterparts of these sounds available in Hindi. While doing this many words loose their meanings and some words undergo semantic change. Thus,:

1. Voiceless velar stop /k/ is preferred over voiceless uvular stop in the words like-

	/q/ →	/k/		
Examples:	qəlb	kəlb	(meaning change)	'heart'; 'dog'
	qədr	kədər	(no meaning)	'value'
	qələm	kələm	"	'pen'
	qəyāmət	kəyāmət	"	day of judgment'
	fIqrā	phIkrā	"	'phrase'
	māqūl	mākūl	"	'suitable'
	məzāq	məjak	"	'joke'
	fərq	phərk	"	'difference'

2. Voiceless bilabial aspirated stop /ph/ is preferred over the voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ in the words like:

	/f/ →	/ph/	
Examples:	fIkr	phIkr	'worry'
	fuzūl	phIjūl	'in rein'
	fən	phən	'art'
	alfāz	alphāj	'words'
	sūfi	sūphi	'saint'
	rəfi	rəphi	'a name'
	sāf	saph	'clean'
	təklif	təkliph	'problem'

3. Voiceless aspirated stop /kh/ is preferred over the voiceless velar fricative /x/ in the words:-

	/x/ →	/kh/		
Examples:	xār	khār	(meaning loss)	'thorn'
	xəbər	khəbər		'news'

	xud	khud	'self'
	šāx	šākh	'branch'; 'credit'
	čix	čikh	'cry'

4. Voiced velar stop /g/ is preferred over voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ in the words like-

	/ɣ/ →	/g/	
Examples:	ɣəlti	gəlti	'mistake'
	ɣəur	gor	'care'
	ɣəm	gəm	attention, grief'
	dəɣa	dəga	'deceive'; 'fired a shot'
	dāɣ	dāg	'spot'
	murɣ	murəg	'bird'

5. Voiced palatal stop /j/ is preferred over voiced alveolar fricative /z/ in the words

	z →	j	
Examples:	zLkr	jIkr	'reference'
	zəmānā	jamānā	'time'; 'to fix'
	zor	jor	'fare'
	hāzLr	hajIr	'present'
	nəzər	nəjər	'eye sight'
	firoz	phIroj	'a name'
	čiz	čij	'a thing'

Phonemic Transpositions also take place because of the Hindi phonemic system. There are many words in Urdu from Hindi in which there is aspiration, but Urdu dropped the aspiration. Such words are used with aspiration by these learners.

	k →	*kh*	
Examples:	kān	khān	'mine'
	bhIkāri	bhIkhāri	'begger'
	bhūk	bhūkh	'hunger'
	sūkā	sūkhā	'dry'
	bhūkā	bhūkhā	'hungry'
	Bhik	bhikh	'begging'
	təkān	thəkān	'firmness'

Errors due to Over Generalization

There exist in the corpus many speech errors which can be attributed to the process of overgeneralisation or analogy, since most of the core words in Urdu are from Perso-Arabic base and have the frequent use of /f/ /q/x/ /z/ /ɣ/ and /ž/ sounds. The Hindi learners of Urdu go on using these sounds in these words where they do not occur at all. This process results on the basis of the assumption that since most of the words taught to them have these sounds and that without these sounds there is no Urdu word. Hence, they feel that use of these sounds will make them Urdu words. Due to this process, the following results will occur.

1. Voiceless uvular stop /q/ is preferred for voiceless velar stop /k/ in words

	k →	*q*		
Examples:	kalām	qalām	meaning loss	'poetic collection'
	kāfi	qaphi	"	'enough'
	wəkil	wəqil	"	'lawyer'
	fikr	phIqr	"	'worry'
	xušk	khušq	"	'dry'
	sulūk	sulūq	"	'treatment'
	nāzūk	nāzūq	"	'soft'

2. Voiceless velar fricative /x/ is used for voiceless velar aspirated stop /kh/ in words like

	kh →	*x*		
Examples:	khānā	xānā	(meaning change)	'meal' d
	khonā	xonā	(meaning loss)	'to loose'
	khāsi	xasi	"	'cough'
	əkhāra	əxārā	"	'wrestling place'
	dukh	dux	"	'grief'
	dekh	dex	"	'to see'

3. Voiced alveolar fricative /z/ is used for voiced palatal /j/ stop in the words like:

	j →	*z*		
Examples:	jəwān	zəwān		'young'
	jəg	zəg	(meaning change)	'war' 'rust'
	jIld	zIld		'skin/binding'
	mujrIm	muzrIm		'criminal'
	nIjāt	nIzāt		'to get rid of'
	rājā	rāzā		'king'
	āj	āz		'to day'
	rāj	rāz	(meaning change)	'power'; 'secret'
	tāj	tāz		'crown'

4. Voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ is used for voiced velar stop /g/ in words

	g →	ɣ		
Examples:	gul	ɣul	(meaning change)	'flower'; ' ash'
	gərd	ɣərd	(meaning loss)	'dust'
	āgrā	āɣrā	"	'city of Agra'
	məgər	məɣər	"	'but
	āg	āɣ	"	'fire'
	jag	jaɣ	"	'to wake up'

5. Voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ is used for voiceless bilabial aspirated stop consonant /ph/ in the words

	/ph/ →	*/f/*		
Examples:	phIr	fIr	(meaning loss)	'then'
	phəl	fəl	"	'fruit'

phā̃si	fā̃si	"	'hanging'
phə̃sānā	fə̃sānā	"	'to take into clutch'

Errors due to False Hypothication

Some errors are attributed to false hypothetication. The learners develop false concepts of their own for certain other words. Hence there exist-

1. Use of nasalization in words where it is not needed in the words like:

dunIyā	dunIyā̃	'world'
muqəddəme	mukdəmẽ	'law suits'
zəmāne	jəmanẽ	'times'
nəɤme	negmẽ	'songs'

Though in the above words, there is unmarked nasalization as the ending vowels are preceded by nasals, the speakers used the marked nasalizatión. The nasalization in the above words is the result of the concept based on the analogy of the following words:-

nezmẽ	'poems'
ɤəzlẽ	'ghazals'
bəzmẽ	'literary gathering'
məhfilẽ	'literary sittings'

And hence, it is also the result of internal interference, i.e., an item is influenced by features of other words from the same language base.

2. Due to distortion in perception of certain sounds the learners developed a wrong concept for some words. Moreover, it is also observed that in dialects of Himachal Pradesh the following words one spoken in the way they have been spoken by learners. Here the /m/ is changed into /b/.

məzmūn	məjbūn	(meaning loss)	'article; 'content'; 'subject'
məjmuā	məjbuā	(meaning loss)	'collection'

3. The voiced bilabial stop /b/ and dental stop /d/ are changed into /p/ and /t/ respectively. This is also due to wrong hypothetication. hence:

məzbūt	məjpūt	'strong'
təbsIrā	təpsIrā	'review'
qəwaId	kəwayet	'grammar'
jaidā̃d	jeyadāt	'wealth/property'4.

But a voiceless consonant is made voiced in the following examples due to wrong conceptualization.

yəkjəhti	yəkzəhdi	'integration'

Errors due to Incomplete Application of Rules

Performance Errors (developmental)

Many errors can be attributed to performance failure i.e. to say that the learners fail to apply correct rules, Under this process following types of errors are noticed.

1. In plural forms of words and verbs (of Indic base) though nasalization is marked but they fail to mark nasalization in both Perso Arabic words made plural on indic pattern and also in Indio words. They also fail to use nasalization in singular forms where it is required. Hence,

	nasalization	*de nasalization*		
Examples:	zəbãnẽ	jəbãne	(meaning loss)	'languages'
	donẽ	done	"	'both'
	hõ	ho	"	verb be form 'plural'
	kuẽ	kue	"	'well' sg. and pl.
	khãẽ	khãe	"	'may eat' (non-honorific, please honorific)
	jəhã	jahã	"	'where' world'
	xIzã	khIjã	"	'autumn'

2. The learners feel difficulty in using diphthongs hence they avoid diphthongs in words like-

dəur	dor	(meaning loss)	'period'
əuzãr	ojãr	"	'instruments'
šəuq	sok	"	'hobby'
xəIr	kher	"	'any way'; 'welfare'
xəuf	khop	"	'fear'
eIb	eb	"	'evil'

3. They also fail to pronounce voiceless palatal fricative /š/ in the words and use voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ though this sound occurs frequently in Hindi words and also in their dialects. Thus,

	š	*s*		
Examples:	šãyad	sãyad	(meaning loss)	'perhaps'
	šərik	sərik	"	'to be included'
	šãIr	sãyar	"	'poet'
	šəuq	sok	"	'hobby'
	šəb	səb	"	'night'
	čəšmã	čəsmã	"	'spectacles'
	nIšãn	nIsãn	"	'sign'
	jəuš	jos	"	'courage'
	xuš	khus	"	'happy'

4. There exist some examples of metathesis where the position of consonants is interchanged. This happens because of articulatory problems.

Examples:	lutf	luft	'enjoyment'
	mətlab	mətbel	meaning purpose'
	wəbã	bəwã	'evil'
	wəbal	bəwal	'bad omen'

This process is also a result of analogy, because, in their local dialects these words due to articulatory problem have been simplified in these forms.

Conclusion

The results of the errors studied in this paper thus show that the claim of CA hypothesis is not true that all errors are attributed to mother tongue interference. We have seen here 4 types of errors; (1) transfer errors, (ii) errors due to overgeneralisation, (iii) errors due to false hypothication and (iv) performance errors. We may now arrive at the conclusion that errors of types other than mother tongue transfer are developmental or intralingual errors which cannot be brought out by CA. Moreover, the occurrence of real errors also show that many difficult items have been left by the learners. But we cannot avoid help of CA. In light of the existence of attested errors, we may have to take the help of CA in examining other errors which cannot occur in the data. However, for avoiding such errors extensive phonetic drills in the language laboratory should be taken. Besides the teachers should check such errors and give remedy for them whenever they occur in learners speech. When pointed out many times they may take care of those errors.

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Problems of teaching Kashmiri Script to Non-natives

Som Nath Raina

Introduction

Every language teacher knows that writing skill is as complex as other skills. For teaching this skill, the teacher must be expert in the mechanics involved in this skill. He must have the ability to use correctly those conventions which seem sometimes quite peculiar while teaching this skill. Even after having the sufficient knowledge in this area the teacher's technique to teach this skill will differ from situation to situation. The technique which the teacher will adopt while teaching this skill to the first language learners will differ from the technique which he will adopt while teaching the same skill to the second language or foreign language learners. Naturally the problems which will crop up in the different situations will be to a great extent different.

My present study is confined only to the problems which arise while teaching Kashmiri script to the second language learners who are adults and non-natives. Here, I mean those learners whose mother tongue is not Kashmiri and who do not know the Urdu or Sindhi writing systems, because the problems of those learners who have got the background of Urdu or Sindhi writing system slightly differ from those who have not any knowledge of this script at all. That is why while teaching Kashmiri script to the non-natives adults, the desired result is achieved only after adopting the mechanical devices by the teacher because of the presence of certain complexities in its orthographic system. It is actually these complexities which create the problems for the teacher and the teacher has to take some measures to make the learning of the script quite effective. For taking these effective measures, the teacher has to cross some times certain boundaries to modify that part of the orthography which otherwise would stand as an obstacle.

Problems

Hand Movements

The usual hand movements in writing the letters of mother tongue of our learners (except those whose mother tongue is Urdu or Sindhi) is from left to right. But the hand movement in writing the letters of Kashmiri is from right to left. Since the learners of our composite class room are used to write their mother tongues or some other tongue which they have learnt from left to right, it poses a big problem before the teacher to change their life long habit. Based on this habit of learners, we can identify three kinds of hand movements, i.e.:

i) hand movement from right to left,

ii) hand movement from left to right,

iii) hand movement using both first and second types.

Second kind of hand movement has not been found in certain cases while writing the letters like ٹ – ٹ – ث – پ – ب and ن
Third kind of hand movement has been noticed in some of the cases while writing the letters like ک – ک – ک . Here the learner writes the first part of the letter, i.e., ب – ب – ب with the usual hand movement whereas the second part of the letter, i.e., slanting strokes ‌ – ‌ – ‌ he writes from bottom to top instead of top to bottom. It is to be noted that hand movements in writing the alphabet of Kashmiri are clockwise or anti-clockwise or both. Due to this, the problem is confined to a few letters only.

Conjoining of letters

To teach the conjoining of letters is a complex problem for the teacher while teaching Kashmiri script. When Kashmiri letters are conjoined to each other they are connected in broken and varied shapes in their different positions of a word. Sometimes the shapes are so varied that they look different from the original shapes. For example, the connected forms of the letters ک and گ in their initial and medial positions are ک and گ respectively when they are followed by ا – آ or ل in a word. Again the connected forms for the letters س and ش in their initial, medial and final positions are سـ – ـسـ – ـس and شـ – ـشـ – ـش respectively when followed by the same letters or س by ش or ش by س in a word as in سستہ 'cheap', ریس 'recess', شیشر 'cold', کوشش 'try', فرش 'floor' (dative), like words. Similarly the connected forms of the letter ے in medial positions are یـ – ـیـ – ـی as in یم 'these', پم 'wool', and یار 'friend', and the connected forms of the letter ہ as in ہوا 'wind', ہار 'necklace', دوپہر 'noon' and دوہ or دوہہ 'day'. From the present analysis it is clear that the broken shapes of some letters are more varied than others. So more complex for the teacher to teach the connected forms of ک – گ and س – ش are not so complex as the connected forms of ے and ہ are because in the second case the orthographical environment preceding and following the letters ے and ہ is so varied that it needs a lot of practice to acquire the skill of writing of these conjoined forms in their different writing situations.

Reflexive letters

To teach the writing and use of the reflexive letters whether in connected form or unconnected form is a hard job for the teacher, because they lack the phonetic value in Kashmiri. The alphabet of Kashmiri language without the reflexive letters is no way incomplete and thus the teaching of their use is nothing but an unwanted burden for the teacher. He has to make the learner to learn the usage of these letters only by memory/practice. Even after that, it has been observed that the teacher is unable to make the learner quite skilled in the usage of this set of letters because

all the vocables with the reflexive letters or their connected forms cannot be introduced in a particular course of the learner. That is why when a learner comes across a new vocable, he is unable to decide which letter whether original or reflexive to write. The connected forms of the reflexive letters are all more problematic for the teacher to teach, particularly, the connected forms of the letters (aim) ع and (gain) غ which are quite varied than their unconnected forms when used in their initial, medial and final positions. The connected forms of ع and غ are عـ, ـعـ, ـع and غـ, ـغـ, ـغ in initial, medial and final positions respectively as in عام 'public' تعریف 'praise' موقع 'chance', غربت 'poverty', بغیر 'without' and بالغ 'adult'. While introducing the above vocables for writing, the teacher has to teach not only the use of reflexive letters ع and غ with a conventional explanation that these letters are to be used in these vocables because these are written with the same letters in their source language, but also to habituate them with the use of varied conjoined forms indifferent positions of the word with the help of practice only. Again the conjoining forms of the reflexive letters ع and غ which are said to be used in the initial position of the words, occur in medial position also, of course after the syllable break. For example, as عـ in دعا 'prayer', غـ in دغاباز 'deceitful'. Here also the learner faces a lot of difficulty, which the teacher is bound to share, while teaching the right usage of these allographs.

Letters representing aspirated sounds

All the loan words ending with dental, bilabial and velar voiceless unaspirated stops /ت/، /پ/، /ک/ particularly from Persian are spoken with their voiceless aspirated forms /تھ/، /پھ/ and /کھ/ respectively in Kashmiri. But while teaching their use in writing, it takes a lot of time to the teacher to make the learner habitual to write the words like رات 'night', دوات 'ink-pot', غربت 'poverty' پاپ 'sin', ملک 'country', متعلق 'about' and etc., in aspirated ending forms like راتھ - دواتھ - غربتھ - پاپھ - ملکھ and متعلکھ etc.

Measures to come over the problems

To be able to write in a second language situation, the learners must be trained systematically, particularly, in the earlier stage, i.e., at the time of copying. Of course copying does not pay to the adults in the same way as it pays to the children, yet we cannot overlook the fact that copying is a very easy and paying technique for teaching writing of a language. This technique is very much useful to encourage recognition and reproduction of letters and their broken shapes in different positions of a word. Where the script is entirely different to that of the native language of the learners, copying has more significant role to play. In languages where sound-symbol combination is particularly complicated, the copying practice needs to be continued in advanced stages of writing also.

Individual attention to the learner

In order to control the hand movement of the learner in the right direction and equip him with the proper art of writing the letters in their graphemic shapes or allographic shapes in their conjoined forms, the learners individual attention is a must. Because of the composite class where the learners are coming from different mother tongue backgrounds and because of the variation in the I.Q., motivation, social, economical and psychological background of the learners simply classroom teaching in respect of writing skill is not sufficient. The teacher has to keep sometime for individual consultation of the learners if their writing skill particularly which is a complex one is to be taught with scientific approach.

Standardization of the script

The more a script is standardized, the more it becomes easy for the learner to learn. With reference to Kashmiri script I propose the following measures to standardize.

Reflexive letters or the letters representing the same sound as represented by letters in the original alphabet should be eliminated from the writing system by and large. Many creative writers have started it, but it needs encouragement from the linguists and language teachers also. Mid central unrounded long vowel ٲ is used as a grapheme only in its initial as well as medial position of the word which is quite unlike from other vowels which are being used as graphemes in their initial positions and allographs in their other positions of the word. Though this one exception is very common in the writing system of Kashmiri, but its dissimilar and confusing use needs to be discouraged.

Writing اےٚ in the final position of the word is also confusing. Some authors use allograph ےٚ in the final position of the word, whereas some authors use یٚ allograph. Out of the two shapes, only one, preferably, ےٚ must be continued, firstly because of its more frequency of occurrence in the present day literature of Kashmiri language and secondly, substituting this allograph by یٚ does no way lead to the economy or simplicity of the script.

It has been observed that the allograph of ٲ which is simply a slanting stroke above the preceding letter in the medial and final positions of the word is being dropped while writing Kashmiri. Though its occurrence is being taken as implied yet we cannot ignore that it is quite unusual to the rule which says that the diacritical marks always occur above or below the preceding letter in medial or final positions of the words. Thus, there is no logic to continue this exception in the writing system of Kashmiri.

Standardization of the loan words is very much essential particularly in the context of second language teaching. The loan words which the authors use in their books are being written generally in the same forms as they have in the source language. That is why the learners get confused while writing the words

like بلکُل ـ سَیکل ـ صوٗندوٗکھ ـ ووستاد etc. As soon as they go through a book, they come across the forms like بالکل سایکل ـ صندوٗق ـ اُستاد etc. It is here that the teacher needs to follow forms, which are preferably the spoken forms. Here, it is the creative writer who can play revolutionary role in standardizing the loan words.

Many times, the author uses unmeaningful strokes to decorate his writing. These may enhance his writing skill, but at the same time they become problematic to the learner. When the writer can decorate his writing or a book with meaningful artistic letters also then there is no justification to continue these unmeaningful strokes in the writing system.

Proper spacing, proper punctuation and correct spellings are very much needed for teaching the writing skill of any language but for teaching Kashmiri script it is all the more important because of its complex nature.

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The Semantic Divergency of Common Vocabulary and its Role in Material Production

K.Viswanatham

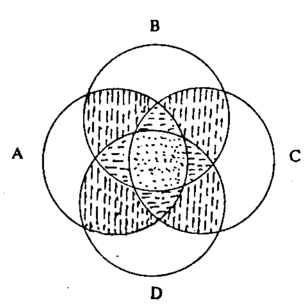
Introduction

While learning other Indian Languages or even when we listen others speaking them, we find many words phonetically similar to our mother tongue or to other languages we know. Very few of them are due to accidental coincidence and a majority of them are either due to common ancestral relationship or due to borrowing from various languages. We have borrowed into our languages scores of words either directly from one language to the other (Sanskrit to Telugu, Kannada, etc.) or through other languages (Arabic and Persian words through Urdu); again either in their original form (i.e., *tatsama* words like ra:ṣṭram 'State') or in a changed form (i.e., *tadbhava* words like kukka 'dog' from kurkuram in Telugu, mi:it 'friend' from mitra in Hindi, sa:qu 'vegetable' from śa:ka in Kannada, etc.) to suit to the receiver. The main reasons for such borrowings are cultural, religious, social and political.

The sources of these borrowed vocabulary in Telugu are as follows:

Source Languages(s)	*Reasons*
Sanskrit and Prakrit	Cultural, social and religious
Cognate languages	Ancestral relationship and also cultural and social reasons.
Other Indian languages	Cultural, social and political
Perso-Arabic languages	Political, social and cultural
European and other foreign Languages	Political, social and cultural.

Now, the set of common vocabulary items due to the reasons and from the sources mentioned above for any pair of Indian Languages is not the same for some other pair or pairs in which one of the members of the first pair is also a member. In the other words, if A, B, C and D represent four different languages, the common words found in languages A and B are not the same of languages C and D, or A and C, or B and C, or A and D. This can be represented diagrammatically. In the diagram, the intersections of languages A and B, B and C, C and D, A and D, B and D, and A and C are not the same.



For any pair or group of languages the phonetically similar or common words —sometimes with minor phonological and morphological adjustments—fall into two distinctive groups, viz., homosemic and heterosemic. The homosemic words will have the same meaning in both or in all the languages. For instance, Telugu *bhayaṅkaram*, Kannada *bhayaṅkara*, Hindi *bhayaṅkar* have the same meaning - 'fearfulness'; same is the case with the word *uppu* 'salt' in four major Dravidian languages. The heterosemic words though phonetically similar in both or in all the languages will have different connotations in different languages. Te: *tondara* 'quickness' and Ka: *tondare* 'trouble', Te: *samsa:ram* 'family', Hi: *sansa:r* 'world', Te: *šikṣa* 'punishment' Hi: *šikṣa* 'education', Te: *ra:ṣṭram* 'state' Ka: *ra:ṣṭra* 'country', Te: *bhyaṅkaram* 'fearfulness' Ta: *bhyaṅkaram* 'fantasticalness' are some of the examples of this semantic divergency. While the words of the former group maintain the same meaning in both or all the languages, the words of the latter group have undergone semantic changes taking different connotations or senses of the same meaning, or giving distinctively different meanings.

These semantic changes mainly fall under the following categories:

(1) ***Expansion :*** A word originally used for a specific meaning in the source language is expanded to cover a variety of meanings. Thus, when the same word is borrowed into different languages some maintain the original meaning and some use the expanded meaning. For instance, the Sanskrit word *lo:ham* 'iron' is used its original sense (i.e., iron) in Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages, but it is expanded and used to any metal in the general sense of metal in Telugu and other Dravidian languages. As a result of this *lo:ha yugam* means 'metal age' in Telugu, but 'iron age' in Hindi. Similar is the case with words like tailam etc.

(2) Extension : Sometimes a borrowed word is extended to a new shade of meaning or connotation in addition to its original meaning in the source language. In Telugu, the word *pra:ntam* 'region' in addition to its original meaning is extended to 'around', i.e., from the geographical nature to temporal nature as in *mu:ḍu ganṭala pra:ntam* 'around 3 O' clock'. In the present day Kannada the English word 'close' is extend to 'finish' or 'complete' in addition to its original meaning whereas it maintains its original meaning in some other languages.

(3) Construction : When words with broad ranges of meanings in the source languages are taken into other languages they are constricted to only one or lesser number of their original meanings. The Sanskrit word *annam* 'food' in the general sense is restricted in the Dravidian languages only to 'cooked rice' may be because rice is the staple food in South India. The Hindi word *pa:n* derived from the Sanskrit word *parṇa* 'leaf' is constricted to the narrow sense of the leaf of a particular plant from the general sense of any leaf of its ancestor. In Telugu the verb *ka:ru* means 'leak or flow', in Kannada it means only 'leak from the mouth'. Similarly, in Telugu *kammaga:* means 'deliciously', whereas *kamm:qi* in Kannda means 'attractively' 'beautifully', etc.

(4) Restriction : A word with more than one meaning in the source language or the originating language is restricted to one of its meanings in accordance with the requirements from time to time that arise due to changing political, economic and social set up. For instance, the word *ra:ṣṭram* meaning 'a self ruled geographical territory' or 'country' in Sanskrit has been restricted to 'State' in the present set up in Telugu, whereas it is taken for 'country' in Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages and also in Kannada. In Hindi *saciv* is used to 'secretary' whereas it is 'minister' in Telugu. *pradha:namantri* and *mukhyamantri* are the same in literal sense but the former is used for 'Prime Minister' and the latter for 'Chief Minister'. Similarly, *samsa:ra* meaning 'world', 'family' etc., is restricted to 'family' in Telugu, Kannada, etc., and in Hindi and some other languages to 'World'. Similar is the case with words like *udyo:gam* (Te: 'job', Hi: 'industry'), *upanya:sam* (Te: 'lecture', Hi: 'novel'), pariśrama (Te: 'industry' and 'hard work', Hi: hard work'), *avasaram* (Te: 'need' and 'time', Hi: 'time'), *pratye:ka* (Te: 'special', 'separate' and 'each one' Hi: 'each one'), etc.

(5) Elevation : In certain cases due to the changed circumstances and also due to social, scientific and technological advancement, certain words are elevated or upgraded to a superior position than others and some are degraded. For example, when a degree of distinction is needed for the same meaning in a broader sense, Sanskrit borrowings are elevated to superior position than native words. For example, *va:yu* meaning 'wind' or 'air' is used in Telugu for 'gas' in science articles and *ga:li* for 'wind' or 'air'. The Sanskrit word *va:sana* is elevated and used for 'good smell' and *kampu* a native word for smell is degraded and used for bad smell in Telugu. Similarly, the verbs *dars'iñtsu* 'see', *paṭhiñtsu* - 'read', *se:viñtsu* - 'drink' are elevated to a superior status than *tsu:tsu* -, *tsaduvu-* and *ta:gu* -. This situation prevails in other Indian languages also.

(6) Shift : Several words have been shifted from their original semantic status either due to misconceptions or due to lack of proper understanding. Thus, the same words give different meanings in different languages. For example, Sanskrit *kṛṣi* meaning 'agriculture' is shifted in Telugu to 'hard work' (though *karṣakuḍu* 'farmer' still remains) may be due to the hard labour involved in it, whereas it is used in the Indo-Aryan languages and in Kannada in its original meaning. Similarly, *s'ikṣa* 'education' is shifted to 'punishment' may be due to the hard discipline practiced in the old Gurukula system. In the same way *bhayaṅkaram* : 'fearfulness' is used in addition to its original meaning also for 'unpleasantness' 'bad', 'worst', etc., (eg. Te: *a: sinima: bhayaṅkaraṅga: undi* 'That film is very bad', *va:ḍu tsa:la: bhayaṅkaramaina maniṣi* ' He is a very bad person', etc.). The same word in Tamil becomes quite opposite giving the meaning of 'fantastic', 'wonderful', 'very good', 'very pleasing', etc.). Similarly, the Hindi word *khila:ḍi:* 'player' becomes *kila:ḍi* 'rowdy', 'skilled person' etc., in Dravidian languages. The Perso-Arabic *s'ika:r* 'game', *khu:ni:* 'murderer' and *śōk* 'liking' become respectively 'leisure walk',

'murder' and 'fashion' in Telugu due to misconceptions. Same is the case with the Telugu word ' *tondara'*· 'hurry' and Kannada *tondare* 'trouble', or Tamil and Kannada *o:ḍu* 'run' and Telugu *o:ḍu* 'be defeated'. The meanings of some of the words are shifted to different degrees of the same meaning as *kaṣṭa* means 'pain' in Hindi and 'trouble' in Dravidian languages. The Dravidian word *maga* 'son' is shifted in Telugu to 'male' and then *magaḍu* becomes 'husband'. Similarly, Kannada *soppu* 'green leaves' is Telugu *tsoppa* 'hay' and *kampu* 'good smell' in Kannada is 'bad smell' in Telugu.

(7) Reinterpretation : Certain words are reinterpreted giving new meanings and concepts because of changed circumstances and advancement in various fields. For instance, *a:ka:s'ava:ṇi* originally ' a voice from an unknown source' is reinterpreted as 'radio'. Similarly, in Hindi *sa:kṣa:tka:r* 'God's appearance', *dva:rpa:l* 'gate keeper' *lo:kpa:l* 'the ruler' or 'the Almighty' in the original sense are reinterpreted in their modern set up respectively as 'interview', 'ticket collector' and 'vigilance officer'. There are a score of words of this type in modern Indian languages.

In the preparation of teaching materials though vocabulary items are very important and basic, they themselves cannot convey or express any idea or thought. The morphology, the morphophonemics and the syntax play a major role in the preparation of teaching materials. However, the stock of basic vocabulary becomes the basic building bricks. Now, the common words of two or more languages which are monosemic or similar in meaning do not poses any problem and they should be given the first preference in the preparation of earlier lessons in the process of preparing teaching materials, of course again considering their frequency of occurrence at that level, their simplicity and their use in day to day life. The heterosemic or the words with divergent meanings have to be ordered semantically from 'most close' to 'most distinct' to the target language and used in the material in the same order, i.e., 'most close' in the earlier lessons and 'most distinct' in the last few lessons of the course book.

If we go back to our diagram and suppose that each circle represents the set of common words with the other three languages, the intersection of all the four sets A, B, and D (dotted area), or the common core of these sets represents the set of words with similar meanings in all the four languages. For example, *uppu* 'salt' is common with the same meaning in all the four major Dravidian languages - Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam. Such words should be given prime importance in the teaching materials. The intersection of any three of the languages minus the dotted area (area with horizontal lines), or in other words, the sets of words common to only three of the languages such as the words like *bhayaṅkaram* 'frightening' in Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam, but with a different meaning 'fantastic' or 'wonderful' in Tamil should be given next preference in the preparation of teaching materials. Similarly, *maga* is 'male' in Telugu, but 'son' in the other Dravidian languages. The words *kila:ḍi* 'rowdy', and *khu:ni:*

'murder' are semantically different when compared with Hindi, Punjabi and Marathi where *khila:ḍi:* means 'player' and *khu:ni:* means 'murderer'. Then the intersection of any two of the languages minus the intersection of all the four and the intersections of all the three languages, (i.e., areas with vertical lines), or in other words, the sets of words common to only two of the languages must be given preference. For example, if Telugu, Kannada, Hindi and Punjabi are taken, the words *ba:dha* and *duhkam* are respectively 'worry' and 'grief' in modern colloquial usage in the former two, but 'pain' and 'worry', or 'sorrow' in the latter two.

Finally, common words with different meanings in different languages (empty space in the four sets of the diagram) must be taken up. Words like *ja:ti* 'nation' and *ra:ṣṭram* 'state' give distinct meanings in Telugu when we compare with language like Kannada, Hindi, Marathi, etc. If at all some preference is to be given to common vocabulary of different languages in the preparation of teaching materials in a particular target language this approach is more scientific and useful.

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On the Teaching of Postpositions in Punjabi

Narinder K. Dulai

Postpositions in Punjabi

In this paper, an attempt has been made to provide a brief description of postpositions in Punjabi and discuss the types of errors a non-native speaker commits in learning their correct usage.

There are four types of postpositions in Punjabi.

Type I

It includes these postpositions which immediately follow a noun in the oblique case and have special forms when used with a personal pronoun. The postpositions are: *da, nũ, tõ* and *ne*.

da 'of' is inflected for gender, number and case and agrees with the following noun.

Case	*Masculine*		*Feminine*	
	Sg.	Pl	Sg.	Pl.
Direct	da	de	di	diã
oblique	de	diã	di	diã

Examples:

mUnḍe da pIta	'boy's father'
mUnḍe de kəpṛe	'boy's clothes'
mUnḍe di kəmiz	'boy's shirt'
mUnḍe diã kəmizã	'boy's shirts'
mUnḍe de kə̀rõ	'from the boy's house'
mUnḍiã dIã kə̀rã tõ	'from the boy's houses'

da 'of' and its other forms are used to denote possession, kinship, material, use, source, price, time, age etc. e.g.,

ram da kə̀r	'Ram's house'
ram da pə̀ra	'Ram's brother'
sone di mŨdri	'golden ring'
piṇ da paṇi	'drinking water'
nə́r da paṇi	'canal water'
pə̃j rUpiã di səbzi	'vegetables for five rupees'
səver da vela	'morning time'
do və́rlã di kUṛi	'two year old girl'

nũ 'to', tõ 'by' and ne instrumental or agentive are not inflected for number, gender and case.
nũ is used with animate object, time of action, logical subject of certain verbs, predicatives, infinitives etc.

kUṛiã nũ jaṇ dIo	'let the girl go'
mɛ̃ šam nũ jaṇa hɛ .	'I have to go in the evening'
tenũ pətа hoṇa hɛ	'You might be aware'
ram rɛ́ṇ nũ tIar hɛ	'Ram is ready to stay'

tõ is used to denote subject of a verb in passive voice, place and time adverbs etc.

ram tõ pəṛIa nəĩ ja səkda	'Ram cannot read'
səkul kə̀r tõ kInni dur hɛ?	'How far is the school from the house?'
ó kəl tõ dəftər jãda hɛ	'He is going to the office since yesterday'
ó kə̀ṛi ós tõ cə̃gi hɛ	'This watch is better than that one'
mɛ̃ os tõ nə́i ḍərda	'I am not afraid of him'

The postposition *ne* is not used very frequently in Punjabi. It is used with the subject of a transitive verb. *ne* is not used with personal pronouns *mɛ̃* 'I', *tũ* 'you', əsã 'we' and *tUsã* 'you'. It may be used optionally with third person pronoun, but its use is obligatory with second person honorific *ap* 'you'. etc.

óne kitab péṛi	'He read a book'
apne kəpṛe tòte	'You washed clothes'

Type II

It includes those postpositions which follow a noun in the oblique with *tõ* or a noun with the ablative singular, or a personal pronoun in ablative. The postpositions are *bad* 'after', *mə̀gər* 'after' *pɛlã* 'before', *bár* 'outside', *bInã* 'without' *chUṭ* 'besides'.

Examples: šam tõ pɛlã	'before evening'
pĩḍ tõ bár	'outside the village'
do dInã tõ bad	'after two days'
páṇi tõ bInã	'without water'
kə̀rõ bár	'outside the house'
merIõ bInã	'without me'

Type III

It includes those postpositions which follow a noun in the oblique with or without *di* or a personal pronoun in the feminine possessive form. The postpositions are: *thã* 'place' *raĩ* 'by', *khatIr* 'for'.

Examples: usdi thã	'In his place'

mUnḍe di thā̃	'In place of the boy'
mƏkan di sád	'towards the house'
mere rā̃i	'by me'
mere khatir	'for me'

Type IV

It includes those postpositions which follow a noun in the oblique with or without *de* or a personal pronoun in the masculine possessive oblique case form. Some such postpositions are given below in locative and ablative case forms:

ƏndƏr	'inside'	ƏndƏrõ	'from inside'
kol	'near'	kolõ	'from near'
pInche	'after'	pIchõ	'from behind'
bár	'outside'	bárõ	'from outside'
vIc	'in'	vIcõ	'from inside'
nal	'with'	nalõ	'from with'
Əge	'infront of'	Əgõ	'from front'

The following postpositions follow a noun in oblique case with *de*:

sckul de neṛe	'near the school'
nέr de pƏre	'across the canal'
bƏgice de pas	'near the garden'
pὲṇ de pas	'with the sister'
sƏṛk de vIckar	'in the middle of the road'
kƏ̀r de pIcche	'behind the house'
dƏftƏr de bár	'out side the office'
mā̃ de bā̀jõ	'without the mother'
bimari de bad	'after the sickness'
vIá de lƏi	'for the marriage'
rina de vā̃g	'like Rina'
pƏ̀ra de bIna	'without the brother'
kƏmre de pìtƏr	'inside the room'
gā̃ de mƏgƏr	'following the cow'
vƏkil de rā́i	'through the advocate'
khetā̃ de vƏl	'towards the fields'
mina de kol	'with Mina'
kUrsi de Ute	'on the chair'
pIo de vaste	'for the father'

bəcce de taĩ	'to the child'
dərvaze de əgge	'in the front of door'
almari de əndər	'in the Almirah'
səkul de ale dUale	'around the school'
dUkan de sãmne	'in front of the shop'
bag de car cUfero	'around the garden'

Errors

It is important to learn the correct usage of post positions in Punjabi for avoiding false analogies. It has been observed that under the influence of the learner's mother tongue, i.e., Hindi, the second language learners commit errors in the use of the post-positions. Some of the common errors in the usage of post-positions in actual data of errors committed by the second language learners are indicated below. A second language learner/teacher of Punjabi must keep in view these problems.

The use of /ne/ post-position

In Punjabi, /ne/ post-position is not used with the first and second person pronouns, but in Hindi /ne/ postposition is used with first and second person pronouns. The second language learners commit errors due to interference of their mother tongue. Examples are given below:

1a. *mɛ̃ ne Itthe dəs bəje aUna hɛ 'I have to come here at 10 o 'clock'
1b. mɛ̃ Itthe dəs vəje aUna hɛ
2a. *mɛ̃ ne roti khani hɛ 'I have to eat meals'
2b. mɛ̃ roti khani hɛ
3a. *mɛ̃ ne kItab pə́r ləi hɛ 'I have read the book'
3b. mɛ̃ kitab pə́r lə́i hɛ

In Punjabi, /ne/ post-position is used in the past tense with third person subject. The second language learners of Punjabi do not use this postposition. e.g.,

4a. *ó ki lɛna e 'what he has to take'
4b. óne ki lɛna e
5a. *rãje pUri kəhani dəsIa 'The king told him the whole story'
5b. rãje ne puri kəhani dəsI

The use of nũ post-position

In Punjabi, *nũ* postposition is used with object. The second language learners use *to* post-position in place of *nu* e.g.,

6a. * dəddu ne kã tõ kIá 'The frog said to crow'
6b. dəddu ne kã nũ kIá
7a. * hir rãje di sIfarəs apne pIta tõ kərdi hɛ 'He recommends Ranja to her father'

7b. hir ŕáje di sIfarƏs apne
pIta nũ kƏrdi hɛ

The *nũ* post-position is also used in place of da, di, de, e.g.,

8a	*Ik sƏrdar nũ Əlad nƏi si	'A Sikh had no child'
8b.	Ik sƏrdar *de* Əlad nƏi si	
9a.	*vƏdIã *nũ* adƏr kƏro	'respect your elders'
9b.	vƏdIã *nũ* adƏr kƏro	
10a.	*one ram c̃Əndər ji nu sƏhaIta kItti si	
10b.	óne ram cƏndƏr ji di sƏhaIta kItti si	'He had helped Ram Chanderji'

In Punjabi, with the optative form of the verb *cáIde* subject should be *sánu* and not the direct subject *asĩ*.

11a.	*pƏr Əsĩ socṇa cáIka hɛ	'But we should think (over)'
11b.	pƏr sánu socṇa cáIda hɛ	

The second·language learners of Punjabi commit errors in using the postposition *nũ* with first person subject. e.g.,

12a.	*mɛ nũ roti khani hɛ	
12b.	mɛ̃ roṭi khaṇi hɛ	'I have to eat meals'
13a.	*mɛ̃ nũ kItab lɛ́ṇi hɛ	
13b.	mɛ̃ kItab lɛ́ṇi hɛ	'I have to take the book'
14a.	*mɛ nũ sƏkul jaṇa hɛ	
14b.	mɛ̃ sƏkul jaṇa hɛ	'I have to go to school'

The use of tõ post-position

The second language learners commit errors in the use of tõ post- position. They use *tõ* in place of *nal, nũ, rahĩ* e.g.,

15a. *kIsan di sIaṇƏp tõ sare pĩṇḍ lUṭṭƏn te bƏc gIa
15b. kIsan di sIeṇƏp *nal* sara pĩṇḍ luṭṭƏn tõ bƏc gIa
'Due to the wisdom of the farmer, the whole village was saved'
16a *meri Us sƏkul de Ə́dÍapƏk *tõ* mUlakat hoi
16b. meri Us sƏkul de Ə́dÍapƏk *nal* mUlakat hoi
'I met the teacher of that school'
17a. *kaṭhgodam tƏk lok rel gƏḍḍi *tõ* ãũnde hƏn
17b. kaṭh godam tƏk lok rel gƏddi *rahĩ* aunde hƏn
'People come by train upto Kathgodam'
18a. *ram ne mƏ́n tõ kIá kI hoḷi - hoḷi tUro.
18b. ram ne mƏ́n *nũ* kIá kI hoḷi-hoḷi tUro
'Ram said to Mohan to walk slowly'

Postposition *te, tõ, nal* are used in free variation by the second language learners, e.g.:

19a. *hir de prá rấje *tõ* lóe lakkhe ho gəe
19b. hir de prá rấje *to* lóe lakkhe ho gəe
'The brothers of Heer were angry on Ranja'

20a. *ṭokṛi *nal* do əmb ḍIg pəe
20b. ṭokrí *tõ* do əmb ḍIg pəe
'The mangoes dropped from the basket'

21a. *Usdiã əkkhã *te* jot a gəi
21b. Usdiã əkkhã *vIc* jot a gəi
'The light came to his eyes (or he could see)'

22a. *rá te pəi hoi sone di thɛli mIli
22b. ra *cə* pəi hoi sone di thɛli mIli
'A bag of gold was found on the way'

The use of da, di, de, diã, post-positions

In Punjabi, there are four forms of the post-positions *da, di, de, diã* agreeing in gender and number with the following nouns. Some errors committed by the second language learners are due to the ignorance of the gender system of nouns. Hindi has three forms for possessive /ka/ post-position. They are *ka, ke* and *ki, b*ut Punjabi has four forms, namely, *da, de, di, diã*, e.g.:

23a. *sIal *de* rUt vIc mə̃ngte vIcare ṭhIṭhər rə́e hən
23b. sIal *di* rUt vIc məngte vIcare ṭhIṭhər rə́e hən'
'The beggars shiver with cold during the winter season'

24a. *raje nũ həl vən *da* adət nəi si
24b raje nũ həl vəṇ di adət nə́ĩ si
'The king was not in the habit of ploughing the field'

25a. *jəd mɛnũ Is gəl *di* pəta ləggi
25b. jəd mɛnũ Is gəl *da* pəta ləgga
'When I came to know about this matter'

Instead of feminine plural *diã* post-position, feminine singular di is used. e.g.,

26a. *pher *ódi* gəllã vIc a gIa
26b. pher *ódiã* gəllã vIc a gIa
'Then he believed them'

27a. *krIsmIs *di* chUṭlã hon valiã sən
27b. krIsIs *diã* chUtiã hon valiã sən
'The Christmas holidays were about to begin'

28a. *Us*di* əkkhã khərab ho gəIã
28b. Us *diã* əddhã khərab ho gəIã
'His eyes were damaged'

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Error Analysis : A Case Study

M.K. Sampat

Introduction

Prof. Pit Corder says there are two sources of data for Error Analysis (E.A.), viz., indirect source concerned with receptive errors which are found in controlled performance. The other one is direct source concerned with expressive errors. This may be in spoken form or written form.

This study is based on the errors committed by the learners. I have collected my data from the answer-sheets of all the three terminal examinations of the year 79-80 and 81-82. The total number of learners were 5. The material covers controlled as well as free compositions. We have heterogeneous group. The Errors are committed at different levels which are as follows:

Some errors are found at orthographic level. The certain areas are: અ (ə), ચ (c), ખ (kh), ઘ (gh) ધ (dh), ઠ (th), ઢ (dh).

Assamese does not have affricate series c, ch. They substitute S for these sounds and make errors. For example:

səkli	for	cəkli	'she sparrow'
sokri	for	chokri '	girl'

Oriya does not make distinction of s, š and s and use only one dental s. For example:

sikhUN	instead of	ṣikhwUN	'to learn'

Moreover, Oriya speakers find difficulty in pronouncing cluster ksh and they pronounce khy. So kshətriyə becomes khyətriyə.

Oriya has v and b sounds also but v is only intervocally. Initial and final v is pronounced as b. For example:

basudev	instead of	vasudev.	
lab	instead of	lav	'bring'.

This means that erroneous pronunciation of the words lead to erroneous spellings. The ignorance of the spelling system of T.L. causes errors at spelling level particularly vowel length. For example:

vədhu	instead of	vədhU	'more'
vədhU	instead of	vədhu	'bride-groom'

Grammatical Level

This is an area where learners are generally making errors. The gender-number system of T.L. reflects through nouns, pronouns, adjectives and

verbs. The Eastern group languages does not reflect agreement between nominal constructions which are nouns, adjectives and pronouns. This system is compulsory grammatical category in T.L. which is difficult for Eastern Group learners. For example:

pUstək 'book' is neu. in T.L. but learners grouped in mas. gender and produce erroneous sentence like-

pelo moṭo pUstək che   instead of.
pelUN moṭUN pUstək che   'that is a big book'

T.L. has plural marker -O. This is added to all three genders but mas. and neu. noun shows oblique change before taking this marker if they are ending in -o and - UN respectively, otherwise it is added directly. For example:

Mas. sg.	chokro	'boy'	chokrao	'boys'
neut. sg.	barəṇUN	'door'	barəṇaN	'doors'

But choḍ 'plant' is ending in consonant and its plural form is choḍo 'plants'.

Mostly it happens that chodo mas. pl. is treated as mas. sg. and gives the following erroneous sentences:

pelo choḍo che. *or*
pela choḍao che.   instead of
Pela choḍo che   'Those are plants'.

The learners commit errors at morphophonemic forms also. T.L. shows morphophonemic adjustment which learners are not producing because of the ignorance of the rules. For example:

orəḍomaN   instea d of
orəḍamaN   'in the room'

paṭIyUNno   instead of
paṭIyano   'of the blackboard.'

Due to intralingual interference learners fail to select appropriate postposition which causes errors. For example:

tene pətrə ləkhyo   instead of
teṇe pətrə ləkhyo   'He wrote a letter'.

təmare sathe məḷwani Iccha che. instead of
təmne məḷwani Iccha che.   'I wish to meet you'.

The verbal construction in T.L. reflect in its inflection for number, gender, person, tense, mood etc. Errors are found at each of these categories. For example:

hUN pətrə ləkhi rəhyUN chUN   instead of
hUN pətrə ləkhi rəhyo rəhi chUN.   'I am writing a letter'.

hUN khUrshimaN bEsyo chUN   instead of
hUN khUrshimaN bEṭho chUN   'I have sat in a chair'.
mare jûwano che.   instead of
mare jûwanUN che.

Many times Eastern group learners due to filter language Hindi make errors. For example: bagmEN phul hote haiN.

This sentence has two meanings : 1. Flowers grow in the garden.

2. Flowers are in the garden.

Second one is universal statement. T.L. has two types of pattern to express these meanings respectively.

1. bagmaN phul thay che.
2. bagmaN phul həy che.

Eastern group learners always use həy che construction and make errors.

Sometimes the learners make errors in such a way that meaning changes semantically though grammatically sentence is correct. For example:

məne sarUN che. 'I am allright'

mare sarUN che. 'monetarily I am in good condition'

Due to ignorance of the rule they use - məne sarUN che where they have to use mare and vice versa. The errors at syntactic level were found in agreement between subject and verb, object and verb. For example:

mEN te pUstək waNcyo	instead of	
mEN te pUstək waNcyUN		'I read that book'.
ba avya che	instead of	
ba avyaN che.		'mother has come'.

Above errors show that these are due to M.T. interference which play an important role while learning L_2. Hindi as a filter language also plays a role in the learner's performance.

The second factor is intralingual errors. These errors reflect the learner's performance at a particular stage and show some of the general characteristics of language acquisitions. Such types of errors are caused due to faulty generalization, incomplete application of rules and failure to learn conditions under which rules apply.

These errors are useful analytical tool to researchers and language teachers. This helps in preparing teaching material. Rossipal's (1972) opinion E.A. furnishes following areas:

(1) Contrastive language description and prediction of interference.

(2) Improving description of T.L.

(3) Describing Linguistic errors.

(4) Improving language teaching.

To support above opinions contrastive study of Gujarati and Oriya is prepared. This study will minimize the errors. Here, I will discuss nominal construction which includes nouns, pronouns and adjectives.

CA predicts difficulties involved in learning L_2 and describe these difficulties.

It assumes that whenever there are similarities in two languages, learning can be easier and whenever there are differences or contrasts, learning can be apparently difficult. This is called facilitation and interference phenomena (Lado). This happens at initial stage, particularly, with nearer languages, but if contrast is more, then they are virtually a blank sheet and they have to learn as a fresh learner. I mean to say that there is no M.T. interference.

Gujarati language has agreement system which is absent in Oriya language. This agreement system is compulsory grammatical category in Gujarati. The Oriya learners find it difficult to produce acceptable sentence in T.L. Unless the learner knows the gender of noun, he is not able to produce acceptable sentence.

Oriya noun can be grouped on the basis of the inflectional categories of demonstrative and the verb in a sentence. These are -

1. Animate human beings
2. Animate non-human beings
3. Inanimate objects.

Animate human beings

se baḷək əṭe	'That is a boy'
se bhəuṇi əṭe	'That is a sister'
Semane baḷək əṭənti	'Those are boys'
semance bhəuṇi əṭənti	'Those are sisters'

Animate non-human beings

taha gai əṭe	'That is a cow'
seguḍik gai əṭənti	'Those are cows'.

Inanimate objects

taha sreṇi əṭe	'That is a class'
taha gəcch əṭe	'That is a tree'
seguḍik sreṇi əṭe	'Those are classes'
seguḍik gəcch əṭe	'Those are trees'.

Gujarati Gender-number system is as follows:

Sg.	pelo chokro che	'That is a boy'
	peḷi chokri che.	'That is a girl'
	pelUN chokrUN che	'That is a child'
Pl.	pela chokrao che	'Those are boys'
	peli chokrio che	'Those are girls'
	pelaN chokraNo che.	'Those are children'

Here, the Oriya sentences show that the plural marker of demonstrative is

dependent upon whether the determined noun is a human being or non-human being or inanimate objects. Moreover, the verbs of animate and inanimate are also changing. While in Gujarati copula 'che' remains invariable and demonstrative pelUN 'that' is variable according to gender of the noun and number. Moreover, the noun which ends in mas. -o and neut. -UN will undergo morphophonemic change before taking plural marker -o.

Oriya

se baḷək	'that boy'
se baḷika	t'hat girl'
semane baḷək	'those boys'
semane baḷika	'Those girls'
taha gai	t'hat cow'
taha gəcch	'that tree'
seguḍik gai	'those cows'
seguḍik gəcch	'those trees'

Gujarati

mas. sg.	pelo chokro	'that boy'
	pelo orḍo	'that room'
pl.	pela chokrao	t'hose boys'
	pela orḍao	'those rooms.'
Fem. sg.	peli chokri	'that girl'
	peli bari	'that window'
pl.	peli chokrio	'those girls'
	peli bario	'those windows.'
Neut. sg.	pelUN chokrUN	'that child'
	pelUN paṭIyUN	'that blackboard.'
pl.	pelaN chokraNo	'those children'
	pelaN paṭIyaNo	'those blackboards'

Adjectives in Oriya are primarily invariable and behave like nouns whereas the adjectives in Gujarati are capable of showing gender-number agreement with the gender-number of the determined noun. For example:

Oriya

eha bəḍḍə ghər əṭe	'This is a big house.'
eguḍik bəḍḍə ghər əṭe	'These are big houses.'
eha bəḍḍə baḷək əṭe	'This is a big boy''
emane bəḍḍə baḷək əṭənti	'These are big boys'.

Gujarati

Mas.	pelo moṭo chokro che	'That is a big boy.'
	pela moṭa chokrao che	'Those are big boys.'
Fem.	peli moṭi copḍi che	'That is a big book.'
	peli moṭi copḍio che	'Those are big books.'
Neut. Pe	lUN moṭUN baḷ∂k che	'That is a big child.'
	pelaN moṭaN baḷ∂ko che	'Those are big children'.

Possessive pronouns also do not show any change. These are also invariable while Gujarati pronouns are variable and show gender number agreement. For example:

Oriya

eha mor∂ kag∂j ∂ṭe	'This is my paper.'
eguḍik mor∂ kag∂j ∂ṭe	'These are my papers.'
eha tahar baḷ∂k ∂ṭe	'This is your son.'
emane tahar baḷ∂k ∂ṭe	'These are your sons.'

Gujarati

Mas.	pelo maro dikro che	'That is my son.'
	pela mara dikrao che	'Those are my sons.'
Fem.	peli mari copdi che	'That is my book.'
	peli mari copdio che	'Those are my books.'
Neut.	pelUN marUN mej che	'That is my table.'
	pelaN maraN mejo che	'Those are my tables.'

Conclusion

This paper is part of my project contrastive study of Gujarati and Oriya. It is helpful in predicting the difficulties. It will also be helpful in preparation of remedial work as well as to language teachers while teaching T.L.

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Problems in Learning Kashmiri as L2

Roopkrishen Bhat

Introduction

In the present paper an attempt has been made to highlight various problems which a learner\teacher faces while learning\teaching Kashmiri as a second language. The observations made here are based on teaching Kashmiri as a second language in an adult multilingual context, i.e., the learners have been between 25 to 45 years of age with various cultural and intellectual backgrounds. All Indians, mostly with their MT as one of the recognized regional languages of the Indian constitution.

Generally the problems arise because of a) the interference of L1 (usually the MT of learners) and b) the peculiarity in the structure of L2.

The problems have been worked out here at all the linguistic levels of language, i.e., phonetic, morphological, syntactic, etc., which govern the process of learning of all the basic skills, viz., listening, speaking, reading and writing and are presented in a very brief and precise way. They can be summarized as

(1) Phonetic: a) Inability to listen and speak the sounds correctly under the influence of L1 and b) specific nature of Kashmiri sounds, e.g., central vowels /ɨ, ɨ:, e,e:/, alveolar dental affricates /ts, tsh/, palatalization etc.

(2) Morphological: The complex grammatical structure of Kashmiri. That is, the lack of regularity of rules applicable in its grammatical categories and morphological: processes makes the word formation a difficult task for the learner, e.g., gender, case, tense, the usage of pronominal suffixes, modal verbs, etc., pose many problems for the learner.

(3) Syntactical: The learners being adults think and verbalize a thought in their L1 and later translate it into L2 resulting in errors. Very frequent errors in sentence formation are committed by wrong word order and agreement.

(4) Script: The Perso-Arabic script used for writing Kashmiri has its limitations, thereby making the reading and writing skills quite difficult, suggestions to standardize this script have been given here.

(5) Some more problems can be attributed to the unavailability of proper text, books\teaching materials and the general conditions, like the lack of environment etc.

1.1. Problems related to Phonetics

The first and foremost problem in learning a foreign\second language is the mastery of its sound system - to understand the speech mechanism and to be able to listen and speak the sounds correctly.

The-interference from L1 to L2 is one of the basic difficulties in learning a second language particularly its pronunciation. Like every language Kashmiri also has its specific nature and particular habits, certain type of phonetic problems are due to arise for the learners.

1.1.1 Sounds which have some resemblance to other tongue sounds but have a different value or are still different are often mispronounced by the learners who think that they are well acquainted with them already.
Kashmiri back mid long vowel \O:\ is understood by Hindi\Urdu speakers as the back-mid vowel \o\ of their languages while as there is a difference in pronunciation. Examples:

Kashmiri		***Hindi***	
co:r	'dumb'	cor	'thief'
o:r	'there'	or	'this side'

Words with some meaning but different pronunciation:

mo:r	'Peacock'	mor	'peacock'
šo:r	'noise'	šor	'noise'
so:r	'pig'	so:r	'pig'

1.1.2 Since the voiced aspirates /bh,dh,gh,jh/ are not in Kashmiri, therefore, the learners i.e. Hindi/Urdu speakers in whose MT such sounds are present often pronounce the voiced unaspirated stops of Kashmiri as voiced aspirates.
Examples:

bagva:n	bhagva:n	'God'
janḍɨ	jhanḍɨ	'flag'
darɨm	dharɨm	'dharma'
garɨ	gharɨ	'home'

1.1.3 Learners from Hindi/Urdu background utter the voiceless aspirated stops as voiceless unaspirated in the final position. *Examples:*

ra:t(h)	'night'	naphrat(h)	'hate'
dava:t(h)	'inkpot'	šak(h)	'doubt'
sabak(h)	'lesson'		

1.1.4 Speech sounds which are utterly different in Kashmiri from other languages are usually pronounced wrongly. Examples:

Vowels

Central High Vowels	:	ɨ	ɨ:	→	e:
Central Mid Vowel	:		→	a	a:
Back Low Vowel	:	ə		→	o

tɨr	(ter)	'a piece of cloth'
tɨ:r	(te:r)	'cold'
ter	(tar)	'(she) crossed'
te:r	(ta:r)	'made (her) cross'
so	(so)	'she'
dod	(dod)	'milk'

Consonants

Voiceless unaspirated alveolar-dental affricate /ts/ and voiceless aspirated alveolar-dental affricate /tsh/, are pronounced as / c,ch/ palatal affricates respectively.

tsɨ	ci	'you'
tsal	cal	'run away'
tshal	chal	'trick'

1.1.5 *Consonant clusters :* Most of the learners break the consonant cluster in the initial position by inserting a vowel in between. *Examples:*

tram	t(a)ra:m	'copper'
Phras	ph(a)ras	'poplar'
kra:l	k(a)ra:l	'potter'

1:1.6 *Nasalization :* Nasalization is phonemic in Kashmiri. Though there is a clear contrast between nasal and non-nasal sounds, but the learners often take liberties with it. Some of them substitute nasalization by a nasal consonant. *Examples:*

pez	'truthful'(f.s.)	pẽz	'monkey'(f.s.)
god	'hole'	gõd	'a bouquet'
vo:t	'(he) arrived'	võ:t	'depth'
še:kh	'muslim surname'	sẽ:kh	'conch'
ba:g	'garden'	bã:g	'crowing of a cock'

1.1.7. *Palatalization :* Palatalization is an interesting feature of Kashmiri language. There is a clear contrast of palatal and non-palatal consonants. The pronunciation of palatalized consonants is also a major handicap of the learners. They cannot contrast between the palatalised and non-palatalised consonants. *Examples:*

m'o:n	'mine'	mo:n	'accepted'
šuri	'children'	šur	'child'
mə̀:l'	'fathers'	mə̀:l	'appetite'
kə:šir'	'Kashmiris'm.p.	kə:šir	'Kashmiri' (f.s.)

1.1.8. There are some speech sounds which are wrongly pronounced by the learners owing to their absence in their MTs, e.g., Assamese speakers utter retroflex stops / ṭ, ṭh, ḍ / as Alveolar - dental stops / t, th, d/.

1.2 Problems related to Morphology

The structural difference between L1 and L2 being one of the major factors in language learning. The less being such difference, the more easy it is for the learners to learn and vice versa. Hence, the interference from L1 is one of the basic difficulties in the learning of L2. Kashmiri language being a non-cognate one for almost all of its learners poses some common problems to all, because of its complex and unfamiliar grammatical structure, i.e., the lack of regularity of rules applicable in its morphological processes and grammatical categories, thereby making the word formation a difficult task for its learners.

Besides, our learners being trained through a traditional grammar-translation method with translation as an active skill of language teaching/learning, expect the teacher to translate and define every grammatical category and all parts of speech of the TL or L2. Some of the very frequent problems related to morphology are as follows:

1.2.1. *Gender :* Gender being inherent, all nouns in this language are divided into masculine and feminine. Animate nouns follow the natural gender, i.e., males being masculine and females being feminine, while as a number of inanimate nouns can be recognized by various endings of the words, but much depends on the guess work or cramming power of the learner to find out the gender of the particular item. The gender formation processes are irregular.

1.2.1.1 Masculine forming suffixes

-da:r	duka:nda:r	'shopkeeper'
-vo:1	maka:nɨvo:1	'house owner'
-ul	ga:ṭul	'wise'(m.s.)
-ur	ko:tur	'pigeon'

1.2.1.2. Feminine forming suffixes

-en'	mozu:r-en'	mozren'	'labourer'(f.s.)
-in	khar-in'	khərin'	'an ass'(f.s.)
-e:n'	gujur-e:n'	gujɨre:n'	'a Gujar woman'
-va:jen'	ga:dɨ-va:jen'		'fisher woman'
-ba:y	ma:ṣ̌tar-ba:y		'teacher'(f.s.)
-ɨj	ga:ṭɨj		'wise'(f.s.)
-ɨr	phot-ɨr	photɨr	'a small basket'

1.2.1.3 Nouns which have no such endings are very difficult for the learner to classify. Such nouns may include names of fruits, vegetables, trees, days of a week, months of a year, seasons and almost all those items which have been borrowed from other languages. Examples:

tse:r (f)	'appricot'	ha:kh(m)	'karam'	kursi:(f)	'chair'
tsű:ṭh(m)	'apple	pa:lakh(f)	'spinach'	me:z(m)	'table'
ḍu:n(m)	'walnut'	o:luv(m)	'potato'	reḍyo:(m)	'radio'
gila:si(m)	'cherry'	muj(f)	'radish'	pãkhɨ(m)	'fan'
				kita:b(f)	'book'

1.2.1.4 Certain errors are committed because of the L1 interference of the learner, i.e., there are certain nouns which though borrowed from a common source are masculine in Kashmiri and feminine in Hindi/Urdu and vice versa. Examples:

Hindi/Urdu	***Kashmiri***	
a:dat(f)	a:dath(m)	'habit'
ki:mat(f)	ki:math(m)	'price'
qo:m(f)	ko:m(m)	'community'
ta:r(m)	ta:r(f)	'telegram'

ruppaya(m)	ropay(f)	'rupee'
ruma:l(m)	ruma:l(f)	'hand-kerchief'

1.2.1.5. Nouns whose opposite gender is formed by suppletion also involve a lot of memorization as the only alternative for the learner. *Examples:*

dă:d	'bull'	ga:v	'cow'
kath	'ram'	gəb	'sheep'
marɨd	'man'	zana:n	'woman'

1.2.1.6. Some verbal forms, i.e., simple past, perfect etc. and a class of adjectives which agree with the Gender and Number of object/subject, also involve a very complicated process of Gender and Number formation. Examples:

vɔzul	vɔzɨl	vɔzɨj	vozɨji	'red'
tshoṭ	tshoṭ'	tshoṭ	tshoci	'dwarf'
por	per'	pəf	pari	'read'
go:s	gəyi	gəyas	gəyi	'went
kormut	kərmit'	kərmɨts	karimatsɨ	'done'

1.2.2 *Case :* The case markers in Kashmiri can be divided into two groups according to their syntactic occurrence in a sentence; (a) case markers which are directly added to the NP, e.g., Ergative, Dative and (b) case markers which are added after the case suffixes to the NP, e.g., Ablative, Locative, Sociative, Instrumental and Genitive.

1.2.2.1 *Case-suffix and case-marker :* The case forms which take case marker as postpositions also take case suffixes added to the subject which thereby precede the case-markers. The case suffixes are inflected for the Gender and Number of the subject.

In some cases, the case-suffixes resemble the case markers of other case forms, which seems to be accidental, i.e., the case suffixes used in locative and sociative resemble to the case markers of dative and those of instrumental resemble to the ablative. This results in confusion for the learners and they usually mix up the two.

The pattern of case suffixes and case markers is quite specific to this language and is much different than many Indian languages where the subject remains unchanged and a postposition/preposition is used to specify the case.

	Kashmiri	***Hindi***	
Nom.	ra:mɨ	ra:m	'Ram'
Dat.	ra:mas	ra:m ko:	'to Ram'
Agen.	ra:man	ra:m ne	'Ram'
Gen. Poss.	ra:mun	ra:m ka:	'Ram's'

1.2.2.2. The genitive case form is the most complicated where besides the case suffixes the three groups of case makers are also inflected for the Gender and Number of the object. Not only that the construction of compound cases is much complicated, for instance, m'a:ni sku:lɨkis hedma:šṭar sɨndis necvis 'to the son, of the headmaster, of my school'

1.2.3 *Modal verbs* : Although the modal verbs, i.e., pazun 'should', yatshun 'to wish', gatshun 'to wish', hekun 'can', tagun 'to know', lagun 'should'(with reason) follow a different pattern and can be differentiated from other verbs by their usage in the language, e.g., they take a main verb with them in a construction, function in a very irregular way, i.e., they differ further amongst each other in their usage and create a lot of confusion for the learners.

1.2.3.1 Similarities

i) A modal verb always takes the main verb in infinitive form.
ii) A modal verb agrees with the subject in person and with object in number and main verb agrees with the object in Gender and Number.
iii) Conditional suffixes can be added to all the modal verbs.

1.2.3.2 Dissimilarities

i) Subject is always in dative case except in 'yatshun' and 'hekun' where the subject is in nominative case.

me pazi/tagi/lagi	me chu laga:n	'I can'
bɨ yatshɨ/hekɨ	bɨ chus yatsha:n	'I wish'

ii) I and III person forms are same in simple future except in 'yatshun' and 'hekun'.

me/asi/təmis/timan	
tagi ba:li gindun	'I/we/he/they can play ball'
bɨ yatshɨ	'I would like'
su yetshi	'he would like'
əs' yatshav	'we would like'
tim yatshun	'they would like'

iii) 'pazun' and 'lagun' cannot be inflected for simple past while other modal verbs have simple past forms.
iv) 'pazun', 'lagun' and 'gatshun' have no perfect tense forms while all others have.
v) 'pazun' and 'gatshun' have no progressive forms which others have.
vi) The modal verbs 'gatshun' and 'lagun' resemble the main verbs gatshun 'to go and lagun 'to get' pain/cut' inform and therefore, create a confusion for the learners.

1.2.4 Amongst the intransitive verbs *asan* 'to laugh' *vadun* 'to weep' and *natsun* 'to dance' are exceptions to the system. While as the first two follow strictly the system of transitive verbs in their usage, i.e., in simple past, perfect, etc., with their subject in Agentive case, the latter can be used in both, e.g., me nots 'I danced', bɨ notsus 'I danced'.

1.2.5 *Past tense* : The three way past tense system, i.e., *simple* me kh'av 'I ate', *indefinite* me khe-yo:v 'I ate' and *remote* me kheyeyo:v 'I had eaten' adds up to the problem of learners, who cannot understand the exact time demarcation of three. This difficulty is further enhanced by the inflection of

the suffixes which agree with the Gender and Number of the object and person of the subject.

1.2.6 *Pronominal suffixes*: Pronominal suffixes are a typical and a very interesting characteristic of the Kashmiri language. They correspond to the personal pronouns and are fused with finite verbal forms to indicate the agent and /or the object and /or the indirect object of the verb. The use of such forms is very frequent in both written and spoken Kashmiri.

Pronominal suffixes can be added directly to the following forms of the verb. 1. Simple past, 2. Imperative, 3. Simple future, 4. Auxiliaries, 5. Counter to fact, etc. They are inflected for the Number, Gender and Person with the subject/object/person differently under different situations thereby creating lot of problems for the learners. Some of the examples are listed below.

i)	porum	'I read'	(m.s.)
	pərim	"	(m.pl.)
	pərɨm	"	(f.s.)
	par'am	"	(f.pl.)
	Poruth	'you read'	(m.s.)
	perith	"	(m.pl.)
	pərɨth	"	(f.s.)
	par'ath	"	(f.pl.)
	porvɨ	'you (pl) read'	(m.s.)
	pərvi	"	(m.pl.)
	pərvɨ	"	(f.s.)
	parivɨ	"	(f.pl.)
	porun	'He read'	(m.s.)
	pərin	"	(m.pl.)
	pərɨn	"	(f.s.)
	par'an	"	(f.pl.)
	porukh	'they read'	(m.s.)
	pɔrikh	"	(m.pl.)
	pɔrɨkh	"	(f.s.)
	par'akh	"	(f.pl.)
ii)	par-um	'you read for me'	(imperative)
	par-us	' " for him'	"
	par-ukh	' " for them'	"
	per'-hu:m	'you (pl) read for me'	"
	per'-hu:s	' " for him'	"
	per'-hu:kh	' " for them'	"
iii)	por-may	'I read for you'	
	por-mav	' " (pl)'	
	por-mas	' " for him'	
	por-makh	' " (pl)'	
	por-tham	'you read for me'	

	por-thas	' "	for him'
	por-thakh	' "	for them'
	por-nam	'He read for me'	
	por-nay	' "	for you'
	por-nav	'He read for you (pl)'	
	por-nas	' "	for him'
	por-nakh	' "	for them'
	por-ham	'They read for me'	
	por-hay	' "	for you'
	por-hav	' "	for you (pl)'
	por-has	' "	for him'
	por-hakh	' "	for them'
iv)	par-ay	'I will read	for you'
	par-o:vɨ	' "	for you (pl')
	par-as	' "	for him'
	par-akh	' "	for them'
	par-ham	'You will read for me'	
	parɨ-has	' "	for him'
	parɨ-hakh	' "	for them'
	par-'am	'He will read for me'	
	par-iy	' "	for you'
	par-'as	' "	for him'
	par-'akh	' "	for them'

1.3. Syntax

Very frequent errors in sentence formation are committed by wrong word order and concord (agreement).

1.3.1. *Word-order* : As all the languages put words together differently to frame a sentence but this aspect is mostly ignored by the learners and the following type of sentences are framed under the influence of their L1. As in Kashmiri most of the sentences are formed of SVO pattern, contrary to almost all the major Indian languages where the dominant word order is SOV. Examples:

bɨ-lədkɨ-chus SOV	'I am a boy'
(bɨ-chus lədkɨ) SVO	"
Lədkɨ-kita:b para:n chu SOV	'Boy is reading a book'
(lədkɨ-chu para:n kita:b) SVO	"
me bati kh'omut chu SOV	'I have taken meals'
(me chu kh'omut bati) SVO	"

The object, if any, may precede or follow the MV. Both orders unlike in other Indian languages are grammatical and acceptable. Examples:

bɨ-chus kita:b para:n - bɨ-chus para:n kita:b	'I am reading a book'
lədkɨ-heki kita:b pərith lədkɨ-heki pərith kita:b	'Boy can read the book'
tse k'a: chuth kh'o:mut k'a: chuth	'what have you eaten?'.

1.3.2. *Concord* : The agreement of the CV and MV, i.e., some verbal forms like simple past, perfect tense, etc., with Gender and Number of subject/object is very irregular. The four term system of verbs, a class of adjectives, etc., makes it very difficult for those learners who do not have such systems in their L1. Some of the very frequent agreements of CV/MV with object/subject are listed below: Examples:

1. The CV agrees with subject and object in both Number and Gender.

yi ahu kul	'It is a tree'	yi Kus chu	'who is he
'yim chi kul'	These are trees'	yim kam chi	'who are they'
yi cha kũ̌z	'it is a key'	yi k si cha	'who is she'
yimi cha kũ̌zɨ	'these are keys'	yimɨ-kamɨ-cha	'who are they'

2. CV agrees with subject in Number, Gender and Person.

bɨ chus kə:šur	'I am a Kashmiri' (m.s.)
əs' chi kə:šir'	'we are Kashmiris' (m.pl.)
bɨ-chas kə:šir	'I am a Kashmiri' (f.s.)
əs' cha kə:širi	'we are Kashmiris' (f.pl.)

3. MV agrees with object in Number, Gender and Person.

me por akhba:r	'I read a newspaper'
me pər' akhba:r	'I read newspapers'
me pər kita:b	'I read a book'
me pari kita:bɨ	'I read books'

4. MV agrees with subject in Number, Gender and Person.

bɨ go:s dili	'I went to Delhi'(m.s.)
es' gəyi dili	'we went to Delhi(m.p.)
bɨ-gəyas dili	'I went to Delhi'(f.s.)
es' gəyi dili	'we went to Delhi'(f.p.)

5. CV and MV agrees with subject in Person and object in Number, Gender and perfect forming suffixes agree with subject/or object in Number, Gender and Person.

me o:s pormut akhba:r	'I had read the newspaper'
me e:s permɨt akhba:r	'I had read newspapers'
me e:s permɨts kita:b	'I had read a book'
me a:sɨ-parimatsɨ-kita:bɨ	'I had read the books'
bɨ o:sus go:mut dili	'I had gone to Delhi'(m.s.)
es' e:s' ge:mɨt' dili	'we had gone to Delhi'(m.p.)
bɨ e:sɨs gemɨts dili	'I had gone to Delhi'(f.s.)
es' a:sɨ-ge:mɨtsɨ-dili	'we had gone to Delhi'(f.p.)

6. MV agrees with subject in Person, Number and object in Number.

bɨ-paran kita:b	'I will read the book'
bɨ-parakh kita:bɨ	'I will read the books'
es' parɨhonkita:b	'we will read the book'
es' parɨho:kh kita:bɨ	'we will read the books'
tsɨ-parɨhan kita:b	'you will read the book'

tsɨ parɨhakh kita:bɨ	'you will read the books'
toh' per'hu:n kita:b	'you (pl.) will read the book'
toh' per'hu:kh kita:bɨ	'you (pl.) will read the books'

1.4 Script

Kashmiri language has been written in Shārdā, Devnagri, Roman and Perso-Arabic scripts so far. The first script, i.e., Shārdā has become obsolete and is restricted for its use by a handful of Kashmiri Hindu priests who use it for writing horoscopes, etc. Talking about Devanagri and Roman scripts would be like raising the script controversy afresh. Whatever may be the scientific validity of these scripts, especially the Devanagri, they have almost been discarded for Kashmiri language and need not be given a trial again. Thus we are left with Perso-Arabic script which has been approved for Kashmiri language by the Jammu & Kashmir Government as well as Academy of Art Culture and Languages, Jammu & Kashmir and the maximum literature is available in this very script.

For the learners who have no background of Urdu/Persian languages writing from right to left is now experience while learning this script. This experience is further complicated by the way we join letters together to make words, as letters have different shapes at different position in a word and join with each other in an irregular way. I would list here some of the main limitations of this script and suggest for its standardization wherever possible.

1.4.1 Perso-Arabic script has been modified to fit the sound system of Kashmiri by using certain diacritical marks especially for vowels. Though the usage of these diacritical marks appears a burden on the part of a learner abut by retaining these we can bring this script close to the spoken language. The unpunctuality with the usage of these diacritical marks, i.e., many writers have taken such liberties in their writings, creates a confusion in the minds of the learners, e.g., a mere addition or deletion of a particular diacritical mark or a dot can change the meaning of the word.

1.4.2 Those words which have been borrowed from Urdu and end with unaspirated stops finally although in pronunciation they are aspirated, are being written as they are in Urdu, which is unscientific and creates a lot of confusion for the learner. Examples:

bu:ṭ(h)	'shoes'	pharak(h)	'difference'
sabak(h)	'lesson'	ba:pat(h)	'for'

1.4.3 The usage of twelve Perso-Arabic graphemes representing the phonemes /s,h,x,t,z,g,f,q/ of Urdu for writing Arabic/Persian loan words in Kashmiri further adds up to the difficulty of the learners. Though their attachment to Kashmiri script is quite unscientific so far as the sound system of the language is concerned, but these graphemes have been widely used in Kashmiri writings on the pattern of the Urdu language and shunting these letters out of the script seems to be a very difficult task, if not impossible. This has given rise to the spelling problem for the learners who do not know where to use

which letter and the only way out is to memorize it. The presence of these letters further prevents this script from being a phonemic, alphabet where each distinctive sound is represented by one symbol only.

1.4.4 The usage of the letter "ain" which is somewhat close to /a/ also creates confusion especially in the medial position of a word where sometimes it forms a sequence with some other vowel which is unacceptable phonemically. Examples:

te:li:m	'education'
te:ri:ph	'praise'
ta:ruph	'introduction'
še:yir	'poet'
i:d	'Id' (festival)

1.4.5 The scribes or calligraphists make this script further awful in their bid to beautify it by using various meaningless strokes here and there. Perhaps, they are unaware of the fact that their this move of beautification way lead to confusion for the readers. I have myself been unable to read the names of many magazines or books on their title pages which are over burdened by many meaningless strokes.

1.5 Textbooks and other teaching materials

Kashmiri is being taught as a second language in the Northern Regional Language Centre, Patiala of the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore since 1971. This is the only place outside Kashmir for teaching of this language. The faculty members of the Northern Regional Language Centre, Patiala and CIIL, Mysore have produced several teaching materials in Kashmiri — An Intensive Course, Intermediate Course and Advanced Courses in Kashmiri; Kashmiri Phonetic Reader, Kashmiri-Hindi Common Vocabulary, Kashmiri Glossary, State School Reader in Kashmiri, Spoken Kashmiri, etc. These materials are not adequate enough to serve the complete purpose of teaching Kashmiri as a second language and there is an urgent need for the preparation of the additional materials like: Graded Supplementary Readers with topics that would attract adults, Cultural Readers, Newspaper Readers Skill Oriented Language Laboratory materials.

Hence, the unavailability of enough teaching/supplementary materials printed or otherwise is a great cause for the lack of interest amongst the learners of this language.

1.6 Miscellaneous Problems

1. Some learners being adults are hardly ready for loud reading, continuous repetitions (drills), mimicry and role play. They are not ready to accept their mistakes easily.
2. The lack of motivation on the part of learners is a main handicap. Some people are psychologically incapable of learning a second language.

3. Literature raises many problems, main one being of linguistic, i.e., in a graded course literature is introduced at an advanced level. A proper gradation of literature needs to be done.
4. The lack of environment also results in problems. The learners must get ample exposure to the environment where the target language is used as a native language.
5. Lack of adequate supplementary materials including newspapers and current magazines.

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Colophon

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□

Some techniques of teaching Malayalam as L2

B. Syamala Kumari

Introduction

In this paper, I present some techniques I have adopted for over a decade (1970-1980) in teaching Malayalam as a second language to Indian adult learners. The presentation includes Malayalam sounds, phonemes, words, case and sentences. This paper may be considered as a case study report. Hardly any case studies incorporating the techniques adopted in teaching Indian languages as second language have been reported by practicing language teachers. There have been occasional reports on difficulties faced by the learners. There have also been occasional contrastive analyses between two or more Indian languages within the context of teaching Indian languages as second language. However, there have been no reports on the techniques actually employed in the classroom. No assessment of techniques teaching Indian languages as second language has been made. Largely the discussion as regards to the teaching of Indian languages as second language has been within the framework of identification and application of techniques in teaching the European languages as second language. A departure from this direction is sought to be made in this paper in the sense that this paper brings a case study of how an Indian language teacher trained only in linguistics actually practiced the art of teaching an Indian language as a second language to adult Indian population.

I took my M.A. in Linguistics from Kerala University in 1967. Before that I took my bachelors degree in Science from the same University in 1965. I became a teacher of Malayalam as a second Language in 1970. To begin with, I hardly had any background in traditional Malayalam grammar or its early linguistic history and early literature. The Master's Degree Course also did not include any detailed introduction either to teaching a language as second language or teaching an Indian language as a second language. However, the M.A. classroom lectures were full of "new" ideas of Malayalam structure and there was all round enthusiasm that one was learning something new, more insightful and more scientific. Formalism reigned supreme and formalism was equated with the scientific nature of the approach of the discipline. There was a firm belief that Linguistics as it was based on formalism was the way to improve grammatical analyses and teaching of languages. With this background, I became a teacher of Malayalam as a second language at the just then established SRLC of the CIIL. Since the language teaching scheme of the RLCs of this Institute is by now familiar to most linguists, I refrain from giving the details of the scheme. The salient features of this scheme is that

the RLCs receive graduate teachers from all over India to learn a language other than the ones they know already for a period of 10 months. They are required to attain competence in these languages so as to teach these to their own school students. Thus the scheme envisages not only teaching the language to adult learners but also imparting training in teaching the language.

Based on my perception of the teaching responsibility my teaching attempted to incorporate 5 major steps, namely;

(a) selection of the teaching item,

(b) presentation of the teaching item,

(c) explanation of the item,

(d) repetition of the item in order to achieve mastery of the same and

(e) transfer of the mastery thus attained within the classroom to appropriate real life situations.

In my teaching responsibility I was further guided by;

(a) my own experience in learning Kannada (at the Master's level as an optional paper) and Hindi (from the seventh standard until the completion of B.Sc. as second language within Kerala syllabus),

(b) my own experience in learning and speaking Malayalam as a native speaker of the language,

(c) my knowledge in Linguistics,

(d) my exposure to Malayalam linguistic structures through the study of Linguistics,

(e) my own perception of the linguistic and language learning consequences of the distinction between cognate and noncognate groups of learners and

(f) my perception as to how Malayalam linguistic structures lend themselves to teaching them to non-native speakers of that language.

Thus the techniques I list in this paper are governed by the above conditioning factors. I do not say anything about the variables that led me to select, grade and present the structures using the listed techniques. I propose to discuss these factors in a subsequent note. What I intend to do here is to list within the framework of the major four steps, the techniques I have adopted in teaching Malayalam.

These techniques presented here are not in any hierarchical structure. They are listed under five categories, namely, how did I teach a Malayalam sound, a phoneme, a word, a sentence and a case.? The restrictions I impose on my own self in presenting the techniques will become obvious in the course of the paper.

The paper concentrates only on the techniques in relation to linguistic structure. No effort is made here as to how I related them to the 4 language skills or to selection, gradation and sequential presentation of learning items. These things will have to be dealt in another paper.

How did I teach a Malayalam sound?

There are many similarities between the sounds of Malayalam language and those of other cognate languages. There are also similarities between sounds of Malayalam language and those of non-cognate Indian languages. The size of the oral and nasal cavities and the other supra and sub-glottal configurations in the productions of speech sounds of major Indian languages whether cognate or non-cognate resemble in many ways. Those sounds which in isolation may resemble one another in these languages may, however, differ from their phonetic/phonologic features in relation to their distributional patterns, etc., at the higher levels. In any case, at the sound level, the similarities are easily demonstrated and acquired. The Malayalam sounds that are largely peculiar to itself and which have not been acquired by the learners yet (either by contact with Malayalam or by other means) had to be taught carefully. I adopted the following techniques in teaching the learners those sounds that are peculiar to Malayalam.

(1) I asked the learners to listen to any number of times to my pronunciation.

(2) I asked the learners to imitate the sound I produced.

(3) I gave a phonetic description in simple language of the sounds and described the articulatory organs and their movements involved in the production of the sounds. This was done through English in the initial stage and where learners had difficulty in following my description through English it was done using Kannada or Hindi as the case and later as and when the students acquired some sort of understandings in Malayalam, explanation was given in Malayalam.

(4) The production of these speech sounds were also explained through the use of sagittal diagrams of the articulatory organs.

The dynamism of the movements by the articulatory organs was hard to portray and had to be supplemented by an oral description as to what was going on, when a particular sound was produced.

(5) The similarities between the peculiar sounds of Malayalam and the sounds of some language known to the learners, for instance, the Malayalam sound "1" has some semblance to a sound employed in Tamil - these similarities were pointed out

(6) The learners were asked to feel their own articulatory organs and to their movements while producing the Malayalam sounds. They were then asked to compare the movements and parts they felt with the description provided by me.

(7) The learners were also asked to bring a small mirror to the class and see their own speech organs when they produced a particular sound.

(8) They were also asked to see through the mirror, the movements of the speech organs while they produced a particular Malayalam sound.

(9) Certain mnemonic devices were invented to identify and familiarize sound. These mnemonic devices generally form a word to indicate the particular sound, and these were introduced as labels for particular sounds, for example, amma-ma, kaakka-ka, khani- kha. The students were encouraged to use these labels while they were asked to identify its sounds during drills and tests.

(10) A comparison with the sounds in the environment and the particular sound being taught was made.

(11) The sound being taught was compared and contrasted with the sound or sounds close to it.

(12) The sound being taught was also compared and contrasted with another sound variable by variable as voice, voicelessness, points of articulation, manner of release, co- articulation, etc.

(13) The sounds were also drilled based on the traditional varnamala order as there are similarities in placements in the varnamala in most Indian languages (Tamil, Urdu, Kashmiri and Sindhi may be probably some exceptions). In fact, it was found that the teaching of Malayalam sounds was much easier and learning much quicker if the link between traditional varnamala series in other major Indian languages and the varnamala in Malayalam was established. Point of articulation following the path way of progression of air from the lungs when demonstrated and brought to the conscious knowledge had a telling effect on the learner -- the impact which probably no other technique could make. (This was especially so with regard to the Indo-Aryan speakers learning Malayalam who used to be frustrated when confronted with the peculiar sounds of Malayalam like Ia la, ra,. Ra, etc.)

(14) Sounds were also given names associating them with the names of objects (the names containing the sound referred).

(15) Sounds were also given names also without reference to their occurrence in the names given to them. A distinction between 14 and 15 is to be made. In 14, the sound is associated with a word which occurs frequently an which also contains the sound prominently. In 15, the sound is given any name and the name is made familiar among the learners by frequent reference to that sound using the given name. Sometimes, the learners themselves came forward with nicknames to describe sounds which they wanted to practice again and again.

(16) The sounds were also identified based on the shape of the letter representing the sound: letters with a single curve, two curves, three curves, etc., have shoe shaped, beak shaped, etc.

(17) Identification and description and use of a sound based on the force with which a sound is produced as soft r, hard R, etc. This was done to a

minimum extent and was resorted to when the trainees themselves came forward with such references.

(18) A sound was also taught narrating an incident and associating the sound with the incident.

(19) A sound was taught associating the sound with its homorganic sound (alveolar stop, alveolar nasal, dental stop dental nasal, bilabial stop-bilabial nasal, etc.)

(20) Sometimes a sound was taught by giving the descriptive label as bilabial voiceless stop etc. This again was resorted to when a trainee on his own attempted the label and identified the sound in that manner.

(21) Sometimes a sound was taught associating it with musical tunes, onomatopoeic words, etc.

How did I teach a Malayalam phoneme?

In my experience, I found that no simple mechanical process was adequate enough to teach the phonemes of a language to learners of that language as a second language. I always found that the problem faced by the learners was not in relation to the mouth but it was always in relation to their mind, at the level of perception and interpretation. Accordingly, I devised several techniques to enable the learners to perceive and interpret correctly the Malayalam phonemes. The devising of suitable techniques was preceded by an understanding of the phonological patterns of Malayalam, an understanding of how Malayalam phonemes behave. I also identified the following chunks that formed part of my teaching items.

(1) Phonemes that have no allophones.

(2) Phonemes that have allophones.

(3) Phonemes that have their realization only through the letters of the script.

(4) Phonemes that change into some other phonemes at the morphophonemic level. (This is only a pedagogic step and hence no theoretical disapproval for this step be emphasized.)

(5) Phonemes that make their appearance at the sandhi level.

(6) Phonemes that are borrowed and thus may or may not have any realization in discourse or may have a realization only through letters of the script. A distinction between 6 - 3 requires to be mentioned here. 3 is restricted to native phonemes.

(7) Phonemic distribution in different positions including the allophonic distribution.

(8) Phonemic distribution in terms of their occurrence with other phonemes..

(9) General accent of the Malayalam language.

(10) Intonation patterns.

(11) Pausal structure which inevitably had to be taught within a word structure or unit larger than a word.

Though the sounds and phonemes should be taught only within a word structure or unit larger than a word very often it was found that the practice of sounds in isolation also had to be resorted to in contrast to the case of phonemes. In my teaching of Malayalam, it was an independent step rather a prelude to the teaching of Malayalam. The phonemes were taught, not separately as such but as an integral part of teaching lexicon and grammatical structure of the language. Acquisition of phonemes plays a crucial role in the development of performance of the language. This was born in mind while devising the techniques.

The techniques adopted were as follows:

(1) Similarities between phonemes of Malayalam and those of the language of the learners were taught through imitation.

(2) Where distributional differences existed contrast between the phonemes of Malayalam and those of cognate languages and contrast between the phonemes of Malayalam and those of non-cognate languages were made.

(3) Where the cognate language or the non-cognate language does not have a particular phoneme such as ee or oo ra or la imitation was aimed at.

(4) The phonemes of Malayalam were contrasted between them using minimal and sub-minimal pairs of words and the consequent meaning differences were emphasized.

(5) A phonetic description of the allophones of a phoneme was given. A distributional rule for the occurrence of the individual allophones was also given. A list of illustrative words were also supplied for practice.

(6) Similarities between the allophonic distribution of a Malayalam phoneme and the allophonic distribution of a corresponding phoneme in the language of the learner or in a language known to the learner were pointed out.

(7) The phonemic principle itself was sometimes explained and illustrated through words from known languages of the learners.

(8) Incidents in which the allophonic distribution role was not followed and which led to certain serious or hilarious consequences as reported in stories were narrated as part of readiness activity.

(9) The learners were asked to feel their own articulatory organs and their movements producing the list of words listed in (5). This enabled them to consciously check and make dynamic changes in the pronunciation values of Malayalam phonemes as demanded by their allophonic distributional patterns. They were also asked to compare the movements and parts they felt with the description provided by me.

(10) They were asked to listen carefully to my own pronunciation of the allophonic distribution and to those of their fellow learners.

(11) The mnemonic devices used in teaching of Malayalam letters were also employed in strengthening the phoneme in the learners.

(12) A comparison with the sounds in the environment as to how these sounds also vary in repeated occurrences was made to emphasis the phonemic principle.

(13) The phoneme being taught was compared and contrasted with the phonemes close to it in Malayalam. A distinction was established between the allophonic distribution of various categories of phonemes such as stops. It was pointed out that within a category such as stops, the members that constitute the category fall into a similar pattern as regards to the distribution of the allophones.

(14) One phoneme was compared and contrasted with another variable by variable such as voiced/voiceless, points of articulation, manner of release, co- articulation, etc.

(15) The phonemes were also taught based on traditional varnamala placements in most Indian languages

(16) Phonemes were also given names associating them with the names of objects.

(17) Phonemes were also given names without reference to their occurrence in the names given to them.

(18) The phonemes were also identified based on the shape of the letter representing

the phoneme (representing 2 curved, 3 curved letters, etc.,) as in the case of sounds.

(19) Identification, description, and use of a phoneme based on the force with which a phoneme is produced was also done to some extent.

(20) A phoneme was also taught associating it with the homoorganic sound.

(21) I gave a special emphasis on tongue practice to impart mobility to the tongue to be in consonance with the allophonic variations of different phonemes. This practice also included various features as regards to the manner of articulation of different phonemes.

(22) I also made a distinction between morphophonemic changes that are not essential for graphemic representation (those that are ignored in graphemic representation) and those that are essentially given recognition through graphemic representations. My approach has been as follows. If a particular target sound caused difficulties for an individual, I put to use the general knowledge of articulation and devised an environment, mainly, linguistic, but regalia also included in which the phonemes would be easier to produce.

I gave the following activities for perception and interpretation of phonemes.

(1) Imitation.

(2) From imitation to a process of generalization based on vocabulary items newly and just then encountered.
(3) From imitation in one item to other familiar items.
(4) Generalization of rules based on context of occurrence of the phoneme.
(5) Since a phoneme in Malayalam generally is a letter, with or without allographic symbols for combining vowels in the case of pure consonants, phonemes are also providing contexts within graphemic sequences. That is, information as to the sequential admissibilities of consonants was provided and explored for the correct pronunciation of phonemes.
(6) Contrasting pairs were also provided.
(7) Phonemes were also taught based on the shapes of letters.
(8) Phonemes were also taught associating them with the names of objects.
(9) Phonemes were also taught associating them with some idea or a frequently occurring word.
(10) Phonemes were also taught associating them with the pronunciation of a learner with in the class room.
(11) Phonemes were taught also with reference to the pronunciation of some other speakers.
(12) I also asked the learners to write the Malayalam utterances, as they hear in their own script.
(13) I also asked the learners to write the Malayalam utterances, as they hear them in Devanagari or Roman script and practice was also given.
(14) I also made reference to allophonic patterns in languages known to the learners.
(15) I made a distinction between accent and intonation, whereas intonation is restricted to individual sentences, the accent is seen as the overall auditory effect that a Malayalam utterance rather a Malayalam discourse distinctly has on the listeners. The native speaker's accent is something that a learner should generally aim at, but may not be able to achieve it fully for all the utterances she makes. The intonation interwoven with the accent probably is acquired easily for a number of typical and frequently occurring utterances, but the learner's native accent shows off in between, if the learner is not always alert in the production of Malayalam utterances. This is true of all adult second language learning. To enable the learners to acquire proper accent, I combined accent, intonation and breath group pauses into a single category and focussed attention on the following.
    (1) Word initial sounds.
    (2) Word final sounds.
    (3) Transition from one vowel to another inside the word.
    (4) Transition from one consonant to another inside a word.
    (5) Syllabic structure of a word.

(6) Transition from one word to another within a phrase.

(7) Structure of breath groups in Malayalam.

(8) Specific consonant clusters, generally the peculiar nasal geminates of Malayalam (n+n).

(9) Short sentences which may illustrate well the accent.

(10) Sentences whose intonation structure is gauged from its meaning content, on the assumption that several of the intonation patterns are similar in most Indian languages.

The techniques used were mainly,

(1) imitation and

(2) repetitive group drilling.

Teaching began with a breath group or a phrase whose meaning is first made obvious. The breath groups or phrase formed the nucleus from which on the one side constituents of the phrases were drilled and on the other, other phrases were added to make the utterance a sentence complete in itself. This approach was found useful. Likewise it was found that the learners were able to develop a proper accent if they already knew the meaning or atleast could guess the meaning. And yet like the teaching of spelling, I found that teaching of accent had to be continued even at the end of the course for many of my students.

(3) Seeing movies was yet another technique employed.

(4) Learners were also asked to complete an utterance with proper intonation.

(5) Learners were given a description of an event and also relevant vocabulary items of a response at random written on the blackboard and were asked to give the response orally with proper intonation.

(6) Reading aloud in the beginning Malayalam materials in Roman script and later in Malayalam script, was emphasized for developing a proper accent. Next to imitation and group drilling, recording was found to be more effective in developing an ability and a sensitivity for Malayalam accent.

(7) Listening to radio broadcasts and recorded tapes was another strategy adopted.

How did I teach a Malayalam word?

I do not discuss, in what follows here, how particular words came to be chosen for a text. It is assumed that certain principles and criteria have been kept in the mind in the selection of vocabulary items. I propose to discuss these principles and criteria in a subsequent note. Here I restrict myself to a discussion of how I went about teaching a word once that word occurred in the text that I chose to teach. I do not also elaborate the major sequential steps which I referred to earlier, namely, the presentation of the item, explanation of the item, repetition to mastery and transfer to appropriate real-life situations. My aim here is to identify and present

the specific techniques that I adopted in the teaching of words and not the presentation of general steps employed in teaching the linguistic items.

The specific techniques were of two types-those that were based on the features of the words themselves and those that were based on pedagogical principles. I do not also make a distinction between the teaching of meaning of a word and teaching its use here.

The following were the teaching techniques employed by me.

I Single words

(1) Teaching of a word by using regalia.

(2) Teaching of word by using its synonyms.

(3) Teaching of a word by using its picture.

(4) Teaching of a word by using a description or definition of the same.

(5) Teaching of a word by providing an equivalent in the languages.known to the learners.

(6) Teaching of a word by associating it with related or contrasting objects

(7) Teaching of a word as something of a by-product of something in a process

(8) Teaching of a word by its spelling as in the case of acronyms (abbreviated names)

(9) Teaching of a word by its own spelling

(10) Teaching of a word by resorting to its occurrence restrictions. (tebuo inappropriate expressions)

(11) Teaching of a word by identifying and referring to the co-occurring words / semantic systems

(12) Teaching of a word by its features of cohesion within a discourse (how a particular content would demand a particular word from among the related many.)

(13) Teaching of a word by the affixation processes or affixes that it takes.

(14) Teaching of a word as part of a group of synonyms.

(15) Teaching of a word as falling within a semantic domain.

(16) Through substitution in the same sentence to teach the range of varying semantic nuances of a word.

(17) Actual performance within the class room (for action-oriented words)

(18) Through a comparison as to which of the features is comparable in naming an object between Malayalam and the languages known to the learner.

(19) Teaching a word through gestures

(20) Teaching through lowering / raising the voice

(21) Using it in as many sentences as possible and making them try formation of sentences.

(22) I also made a comparison and contrast between metaphors of same content in different languages.

(23) Teaching of a word was also done based on the relationship between whole and part-through illustrations of other words/groups of words from the same language.

(24) Teaching of a word was also done based on the relationship between various stages of growth developmental vocabulary.

(25) Teaching of a word was done also based on its placement within various semantic domains-sense, texture, colour kinship, etc.

(26) Teaching of Malayalam words included also inculcating a sensitivity in Malayalam names - to identify when a name is uttered whether that name is a Malayalam name or not. Among several names this is not possible. But there are names peculiar to Malayalam and they have been identified and brought to the notice of the learners. The needs of practical life are not such that we might do with only general names. The words are to be associated/derived from existing ones and are capable of revealing the life status (animate / inanimate) the closeness between the object/organism and the speaker etc. The general tendency is to 'elevate' the non-human to the human, and 'downgrade' the human to non-human. For some of the naming processes features such as diminutive to longness, and vice versa, reduplication of meaningful or meaningless syllables, abbreviation of longer names through established conventions, based on the exploits of individuals, their physical features, general posture, etc., etc.

II Compound words

(1) I gave the meaning of the components and the meaning of the total form when it was possible.

(2) Explained the derivational history of the compound noun.

(3) Explained the source of the compound noun.

(4) Explained how one feature, this feature rather than the other, was highlighted by the compounding process.

(5) Explained also the role of the sequential occurrence of the constituents of the compound noun.

(6) Asked the students to search and find similar compounds in their languages or in languages known to them.

(7) Asked the students to search and find similar compounds in Malayalam.

How did I teach a Malayalam sentence?

In teaching a Malayalam sentence, I looked for the linear order of words occurring in the sentence, the relationship between the linear order of words and the meaning conveyed, cases where the meaning is not directly derivable from the linear order, types of sentences, inter-relationships between types of sentences, the

sentence connectors, the sentence-beginning, linguistic and non-linguistic factors, the relationship between types of sentences and types of content and the frequency with which different types of sentences occur in Malayalam.

All the above were based only on my own intuitive analysis of the situation. Although a sentence is a finite utterance, it has the potential to be an infinite one in the sense that several phrases/words can be inserted in appropriate slots. Likewise, a sentence may hinge only upon a few of the totality of elements which otherwise constitute a complete sentence, in other words, ellipsis is a very crucial natural manner of speaking out a sentence. This ellipsis takes several forms and includes deletion of all phrases except one in the sentence.

The techniques I adopted in teaching Malayalam sentences were as follows:

(1) A sentence was taught through imitation. Learners were asked to imitate the sentence as I uttered it in the class after the meaning is explained.

(2) The learners were asked to complete an incomplete sentence I uttered.

(3) I paused at various positions while uttering a sentence and asked the learners to fill in.

(4) Sentences were taught through the use of pictures. Use of pictures in a sequential manner was found very helpful in teaching tenses.

(5) Sentences were also taught through a translation of their content in the order in which they occur in the sentences of Malayalam.

(7) Sentences were taught through action in the class - direct and indirect object relationships were demonstrated in this manner. Various actions were also demonstrated.

(8) Same sentences were taught through gestures

(9) Sentences were taught through providing models of conversion from one sentence type to another.

(10) Sentences were taught through description and explanation of constituents of a sentence.

(11) Sentences were taught also through a building up process in which first the finite verb construction was presented and then admissible expansion through a left branching process was made

(12) A discourse was narrated; a familiar discourse in which certain events or utterances are predictable because of the familiarity with the discourse. In the discourse certain sentences were omitted and the learners were asked to fill in.

(13) A list of contents were given and the learners were asked to construct sentences.

(14) A chain drill / game was conducted in which a learner gave a word, generally a word of sentence beginning category such as a subject and the learner next to him was asked to add suitably. The chain continued until some learner completed the sentence. Then a new chain was commenced.

(15) Sentences were also taught by asking the learners to analyze the sentences in their own grammatical terms. They were asked in particular, to notice the linear order and the order of meaning in the sentences.

(16) Teaching of the implications and presuppositions of sentences through a description of the content either in Malayalam or in a language known to the learners. The same technique was adopted for the teaching of idiomatic sentences.

(17) Teaching of sentences was also done sometimes by giving formulae of sentence structures to learners and asking them to generate, generally a specified number of sentences of the types given.

(18) Teaching of sentences was also done by giving model sentences without explicitly stating the formulae and asking the learners to identify the sentences of similar structures in a given text.

How did I teach a Malayalam case?

In teaching a Malayalam case, I first looked for the forms of cases, the meaning or meanings each form carries, the placement/distribution of each of these case forms, the overlap between functions of specified case forms, the optional/obligatory deletion or occurrence of case forms and the interrelationship between case functions, case forms and verb selection. Teaching grammatical functions based on morphological devices appeared to be more time consuming and intractable than functions of sounds, lexicon and syntax. Even within these morphological devices, it appeared to me, that one could make a hierarchy of items based on their formal manifestations, the degree of abstract nature of functions of each morphological item and their amenability for demonstrativeness. Even while learning English one does face problem of mastering case relations wherein these are based generally on syntactic order. The learning and mastery of case relations in an Indian language seems to be problematic because of the additional dimension of explicit formal case devices, the overlap between these formal case devices in terms of their functions and the interrelationship between the functions of case and choice of verb for sentence. It was indeed difficult to identify the techniques. The following had been generally employed by me.

(1) For each case marker, following the traditional grammar, I assigned a core meaning and illustrated the core meaning through several sentences and drilled the same.

(2) I gave illustrative sentences where a particular word order would necessitate the occurrence of a particular case marker, and drilled these illustrations.

(3) I chose the content, the expression of which would warrant a particular case marker, and drilled these sentences.

(4) I chose sentences wherein certain specified order, phrases containing different case markers occur. The ordering of these phrases indicates the order of co-occurrence possibilities of different cases. These sentences were drilled in the class.

(5) I chose sentences where the same case form performs the functions of different cases. These were also drilled.

(6) A comparison of each of the Malayalam cases with the cases in Indian languages known to the learners was made. This comparison revealed to the learners both the similarities and differences in case relations employed in Malayalam and in the Indian languages known to the learners. What is expressed through accusative marker in Malayalam is expressed through dative case in another language, what is expressed through use of instrumental in Malayalam is expressed through the use of locative in another language. This comparison brought out the differences in a glaring manner.

(7) Learners were asked to fill in the appropriate case marker for a sentence that was left incomplete.

(8) I chose sentences illustrating the case relations vis-a-vis categories of Malayalam and drilled the sentences.

(9) All the above types of sentences were woven into discourses and the learners were asked to read them on their own.

Conclusion

To conclude, an explicit description of the linguistic structures to be taught in terms of their form, function and distribution was seen an essential requirement for teaching a language as a second language. The appropriate social context was incorporated since the teaching was carried on always through a discourse/text of lessons rather than through or as a collection of disparate or unconnected sentences, each group illustrating a particular structure. Amenability of the structure for demonstrativeness either nonverbally or verbally in the target language or in the language of the learners was sought and exploited. Performance in the language was the goal, and teaching of surface forms and structure was the major thrust. It was found that teaching of surface forms was more demonstrative and was easier because of their amenability for demonstrativeness either verbally or nonverbally or both. Teaching of underlying structures and the processes was done generally through an explicit oral description followed by deliberate practice. The techniques adopted encouraged both deductive and inductive generalizations to arrive at and master the underlying structures and processes. Comparison with language of the learners and translation into the language of the learners were also resorted to wherever necessary.

□

The Verbs and the Selectional Restrictions

N Nadaraja Pillai

Introduction

Chomsky (1965) Proposes a set of features that relate nouns and other syntactic elements of language in terms of which selectional rules can be formulated which would account for the difference between accepted/unaccepted, sense/nonsense, etc., sentences. Chomsky also left open the question whether the system (selectional restrictions, Bloomfield, 1933 : 164-169, Chomsky, 1965 : 113, Harris, 1951 : 299) should be part of syntax or semantics, the two fields which cannot be demarcated distinctly in terms of relational rules.

Consider the following verbs paar 'to see', vaañku 'to buy', aTi 'to beat' need a [+/- Animate], but it should be [+ concrete], whereas verbs like viḻu 'to fall' need a [+/- Animate] item as its subject. This may be illustrated as follows:

1. avan oru yaanai yai(p) paarttaan 'He saw an elephant'
2. *avan oru anpai(p) paarttaan 'He saw a love'
3. *kal oru yaanaiyai(p) paarttatu 'The stone saw an elephant'

Sentences (2) and (3) are ungrammatical since they have violated the restrictions framed on the selection of the subject and the object. For sentence (2), the object has the feature [+ Abstract], but it should be [+ Concrete] and for sentence (3), the subject is [-Animate], but it should be [+ Animate] to make the sentences grammatical. In other words, sentences (2) and (3) are syntactically well framed and in the semantic level they are anomalous. Hence, selectional restrictions represent a typical case of problems of the boundary between syntax and semantics.

This paper clarifies the verbs in Tamil (transitive, intransitive, and defective verbs) on the basis of the reflectional restrictions framed.

Transitive verbs

Class one

This class of verbs consists of verbs whose deep structure subject will be [+ Animate]. In the absence of the [+ Animate] subject a proposed [- Animate] may function as the subject. In other words, in the absence of the [+ Animate] subject (logical), if there is an instrumental, it is prepared to the subject position. In the absence of both the subject and the instrumental the object of the deep structure may be prepared to the subject position. (Nadaraja Pillai, 1978). Both the instrumental and the object are [- Animate]. Examples

4. avan kallai uTaittaan 'He broke the stone'
5. avan cuttiyalaul kallai uTaittaan 'He broke the stone with a hammer'

6. cuttiyal kallai uTaittatu 'The hammer broke the stone'

7. kal uTainatatu 'The stone broke'

The transitive use of the verb u Tai 'to break' in (4) asserts of an object the same change of state mentioned by the intransitives verb in connection with (7). Hence, we describe the verbs of these classes as the verbs which require an object and which permits optionally either an agent or an instrument. The selectional restrictions may be given as:

8. [([+ Animate])], [— Animate] +------]

verbs like, tiRa 'to open', aNai 'to extinguish/to put off', uTai 'to break', vaLar 'to grow' and aTai 'to close', etc., form this class.

Class Two

This class of verbs requires [+ Animate] as the subject and object. But there is a set of [- Animate] entries also which can secure in the surface level as the subject of the sentence. Verbs such as kuuRu 'to say', eol 'to say', kaNTi 'to scold', a Rivi 'to announce', torivo 'to convey', eccari 'to warn', etc. form this class.

9. vimalaa enni Tam cikareT kuTikka (k) kuuTaatu enRu KuuRukiRaaL
'Vimala tells me that I should not smoke'

10. anta aRikkai cikareT kuTikka(k) kuuTaata enRu kuuRukiRatu
'The notice tells (informs) us that (I) should not smoke'

It is clearly a case of pernification in sentence (10). Hence, the selectional restriction may be marked as:

11. [{+ Animate], [+ Animate] + ----]

Class Three

This class of verbs includes verbs like aTi 'to beat', kol 'to kill', etc., where both the subject and object will be [+ Animate]. Consider the following sentences.

12. kaNNan paampai (k) konRaan 'Kannan killed the snake'

The selectional feature will be formulated as follows:

13. [[+ Animate], [+ Animate] + ----]

The only difference between class two and three is that the subject portion of class three is not filled in by a sentence. The subcategorisation of [+ Animate] into [+ Human] is necessitated by a class of verbs which takes only [+ Human as its subject.

Class Four

This class of verbs take [+Human] as its subject and [+ /- Animate] as its object. Take for example :

14. kaavalar avarkaLai ankiruntu kiLappinaar
'The policeman chased them away from there'

15. kaavalar kaavai arikivunta kiLappinaar
'The policeman started the cars from there'

16. elloorum avanai(k) koLuttinaarkaL
'All the people burnt him'
17. elloorum viiTTai (k) koLuttinaarkaL 'All the people burnt the house'
kilappu 'to start/to chase', iTi 'to demolish/to kick', etc.

The selectional restrictions may be formulated as

18. [[+ Animate], [+ /- Animate]+---]

Class Five

Verbs like ira 'to beg', kaNi 'to calculate', kattari 'to scissor', kaluvu 'to wash', etc., take [+ Human] as the subject and [- Animate] as their object. This Object may further be subcategorised as [+/- concrete], consider the following sentences :

19. avan tuviyai (k) kattarittaan 'He cut the cloth'
20. avan tan kaatalai(k) kattarittaan 'He cut his live'

The selectional restrictions may be formulated as

21. [[+ Human], [+ /- concrete] + ----]

Class Six

Verbs like ikal 'to criticize/to dishonour', upacari 'to welcome', varaveel 'to welcome', kaatali 'to love', etc., like [+ Human] as their subject and as their object. In addition sometimes [+ Abstract] nouns are also selected as the object:

22. naam avalai ikalnteen 'I criticised her',
23. naam avaL kuNattai ikalnteen 'I criticised her behaviour'

The subclass of this class consists of verbs which do not accept [+ Abstract] as their object.

24. kavitaa ennai upacarittaaL 'Kavitha welcomed me'
25. *kavita en paNpai upacarittaaL *'Kavitha welcomed my character'

So while formulating the selectional restrictions of this class of verbs, the incorporation of [+ Abstract] as an alternate to [+ Human] cannot be expliçitly given. The other choice will be to subclassify these verbs further. Hence, it may be given as

26. [[+ Human], [+ Human] + ---]
27. [[+ Human], [+ Human/+Abstract] +-----]

Class Seven

This class of verbs take only one specified object referred to the object will be [+ Animate] which will be [+ concrete]. The subject will be [+ Human]

28. avaL eccilai umilntaaL 'She spit the saliva'
29. avan toolai urittaan 'He pealed the skin'

The selectional restrictions may be formulated as :

30. [[+ Human], [[- Animate] [+ concrete]] + ----]

Class Eight

This class consisting verbs whose subject and object may be [- Animate]

31. kal kaalai iTaRiyatu 'The stone hit the leg'

32. maḻai Innai nanaittatu 'The rain drenched me'

The subclass of this class consists of verbs which may select [+ /- Animate] objects as in (32).

The selectional restrictions may be formulated as:

33. [[+ - Animate], [+ /- Animate] + ----]

The classification of transitive verbs on the basis of selectional restrictions may be given as follows:

Object

Subject

	+ Animate	**+ Human**	**+ /—Animate**	**—Animate**
+ Animatee	koL 'to kill' aTi 'to beat' kavar 'to attract'		paar 'to see' nampu 'to believe' ninai 'to think'	u Tai 'to break' tiRa 'to open' toTu 'to touch'
+ Humane		maNa 'to marry' ikaḻ 'to criticise upacari 'to welcome'	kiLappu 'to start' koLuttu 'to burn' eaappiTu 'to eat'	Col 'to say' kuuRu 'to tell' keeL 'to hear'
+/— Animate			iḻu 'to pull' taLLu 'to push' maRai 'to cover'	niRuvu 'to establish' meyppi 'to prove'
—Animate				iTaRu 'to hit' taTu 'to prevent'

Intransitive verbs

The intransitive verbs can be classified into three classes

(i) inherent intransitive verbs,

(ii) syntactically derived intransitive verbs and

(iii) common base for both transitive and intransitive verbs.

The last two have been already discussed under transitive verbs. (class one). Hence this section concentrate only on the verbs belong to (i)

Class one

Verbs such as iRaṅku 'to get down', uTkaar 'to sit', eeRu 'to climb', ooTu 'to run', etc., take [+ Animate] as their subject. Consider the following sentences :

34. atu marattil eeRukiRatu 'It climbs the tree'

35. ciṅkam uTkaarnbatu 'The lion sat'.

Though these verbs take [+ Animate] as their subject, all [+ Animate] nouns cannot occur as their subject.

36.* anta(p) pul̲u ooTiyatu 'That worm ran'

37.* miin naTantatu 'The fish walked'

These verbs hence, need some further subcategorisation, like [+ predicate] etc. In the same way the following sentences are ungrammatical.

38.* avan malai uccikku(p) paRantaan 'He flew to the mountain peak'

39.* kaaLai paRantatu 'The ox flew'

The verbs like paRa 'to fly' need one more feature [+Winged]. This kind of features are very much universal and hence need no entry in the verb dictionary.

Class Two

The verbs belong to this class take only one noun as their subjects, in other words they have very restricted conjugation. Take for example, a kava 'to scream like peacock', karcci 'to roar as a lion', kanai 'to neigh', etc. These verbs take special subjects and they should also be subcategorised since they are language specific.

40. ciṅkam karccittatu 'The lion roared'

41. yaanai piLiRukiRatu 'The elephant trumpets'

Class Three

This class of verbs takes [+ /- Animal] as the subject. Some of the verbs are derived syntactically from their transitive counter part as discussed earlier in class one of transitive verbs.

Verbs like a Tariku 'to be subdued', maTariku 'to be folded', tiRa 'to open', ol̲i 'to be destroyed', etc., come under this class. The transitive counterparts are a Takku, maTakku and ol̲i.

A sub class of this includes verbs like puRappaTu 'to start', cuRRu 'to rotate', etc.

42. near uuRukku (p) puRappaTTeen 'I started to my village'

43. pukaivaNTi puRappaTTatu 'The train started'

Verbs like the above can select [+ /- Animate] nouns. Unlike puRappaTu 'to start' which take [+ Concrete] as its subject to Tanku 'to begin', aarampi 'to begin', take [- concrete] as their subject.

44. kuuTTam to Tańkiyatu 'The meeting began'

45. kuTTam puRappaTTatu 'The crowd started (moving)'

46. *cinimaa puRappaTTatu 'The film started'

The sentence (46) is ungrammatical, since the word *cinimaa* is not create, where physical movement is not there.

Class Four

This class selects [-Animate] as its subject. Consider the following sentence:

47. taNNiir vaaLiyilirunta olukiyatu 'Water leaked from the bucket'

48. palam kanintatu 'The fruit ripened'

The subjects may be [+ /-concrete] as in

49. maNam kamilntatu 'The fragrance spread'

Verbs as in sentence (47) and (48) select [+concrete] as subjects, whereas verbs as in (49) select [- concrete] as subject. Thus this class has two subclasses ; one selects [+concrete] and the other selects [- concrete] as their subject.

The Classification

The classification of intransitive verbs may be shown as follows:

+ Animate	+/— Animate	—Animate	+ Human
'Rańku 'to get down' eeRu 'to climb' ooTu 'to run'	uracu 'to rub' puRappaTu 'to start' kalańku 'to be stirred'	oluku 'to leak' kaci 'to ooze' kani 'to ripen'	ciri 'to laugh' irumu 'to cough' rummu 'to sneeze'

Defective Verbs

The idea of sentential subject is usually based on two criteria, firstly, the subjects will be in the Nominative case', secondly, the subject is indexed by agreement markers an the finite predicates.

For a special class of verbs in Tamil both the criteria tend to be violated. Unlike the regular transitive and intransitive verbs, for this class of defective verbs the subject is marked with dative (and for two verbs the subjects are marked with

instrumental) and the predicates do not agree with the subject, i.e., final verb becomes neutral. In the absence of these two features, these verbs are called as defective verbs. The following verbs are classified under this:

50.	VeeNTum/vee NTaam	'want/do not want'
51.	pootum/pootaatu	'is enough/is not enough'
52.	puriyum/puriyaatu	'understand/do not understand',
53.	teriyam/teriyaatu	'know/do not know'
54.	kiTaikkum/KiTaikkaatu	'get/do not get'

As in the following examples:

55.	enakku(t) tamil teriyum	'I know Tamil',
56.	enakku (k) kannaTam teriyaatu	'I do not know Kannada'.

The two verbs which take instrumental also in addition to dative are

57.	muTiyum/muTiyaatu	'possible/not possible'
58.	iyalum/iyalaatu	'possible/not possible'

The defective verbs like teriyum, puriyam, muTiyum, etc., can be used with nominative subjects if these defective verbs are followed by an auxiliary which they themselves will be transformed into a verbal participate form as in,

59.	enakku atu puriyum	'I understand that'
60.	naan atai(p) purintu koNTeen	'I understood that'

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Negation in Dakkhni

Khateeb S. Mustafa

Introduction

Negation, as opposed to affirmation, is a phenomenon perhaps universally occurring in languages. It is generally expressed by particles which are either free or bound. Further, they are mono-morphemic or poly-morphemic; sometimes the negative particles may express gender and number.

Negation may have its scope over whole of the sentence or part of it. A few negative particles occur in isolation and syntactically have the same value as a complete sentence has.

The present paper is based on the data of spoken Dakkhni[1] collected from Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh. In this study, the negative particle employed by Dakkhni, the morphological structure and syntactic behaviour of these particles are analyzed and discussed.

Particles of negation in Dakkhni

The particles of negation[2] in Dakkhni occupy a very important position due to their distinctive distributional features. There are six different particles, viz., -ni, -nako, -na, -noko, nAkko and nAiM. All of them are mono-morphemic forms and show no distinction of gender and number. Almost all of them are mutually exclusive and are distributed complimentarily.

Of the six particles mentioned-above, nAiM and nAKKo are free forms, while -ni, -noko are bound forms. The particle na may occur either as a free or bound form. The bound negative particles have fixed positions and are suffixed to the inflected verbal forms to negate them. They are thus morphologically relevant. The free negative forms on the other hand have more freedom of occurrence and are generally used to negate sentences. Thus they are syntactically relevant. In the following paragraphs we discuss the individual negative particles, their distribution and also the restrictions of distribution.

-ni: — This particle has a higher frequency of occurrence compared to other negative particles. It is used to negate the sentences comprising habitual present-cum-future, past and obligative verbal forms as their predicates. The negative particle is added to the end of the verb form. In other words, the verb form functions as the stem to which the particle -ni is suffixed. The general morphological structure of the negative construction is finite verb + -ni. The following examples illustrate this.

habitual present-cum-future: mAiM *ja-t-uM* 'I (sg.ml.) habitually go/ will go'

mAiM	*ja-t-a-ni*	'I (sg.ml.) habitually do not go/ will not go'
Une	*kha-t-Ae*	'he (rem.) habitually eats/ will eat'

	Une	*kha-t-a-ni*	'he (rem.) habitually does not eat/ will not eat'
	hAme	*a-t-AiM*	'we habitually come/ will come'
	hAme	*a-t-e-ni*	'we habitually do not come/ will not come'
Past:	Ine	*bol-ya*	'he (prox.) said'
	Ine	*bol-ya-ni*	'he (prox.) did not say'
	tUme	*gAe*	'you (sg. hon. or pl.) went'
	tUme	gAe-ni	'you (sg. hon. or pl.) did not go'
Obligative:	hAme	*ja-na*	'we should go'
	hAme	*ja-na-ni*	'we should not go'

The above verbal forms occurring in the predicate position generally do not show any change either in the tense suffix or in gender or person and number comula[3] before -ni. That is the paradigm of each of the verbal forms consists of the same number of members before -ni. However, the habitual present-cum-future verbal form[4] has only three members in its paradigm before -ni as follows:

mAiM/tu/Ine/Une	*ja-ta-ni*	'I (sg.ml.) /you (sg.ml.) /he (prox.) /he (rem.) habitually do (es) not go/ will not go'
mAiM/tu/Ine/Une	*ja-t-i-ni*	'I (sg.fn.) /you (sg.fn.) /she (prox.) she (rem.) habitually do (es) not go/ will not go'
hAme/tUme/Ino/Uno	*ja-t-e-ni*	'We/you (pl.) /they (prox.)/they (rem.) habitually do not go/ will not go'

Further, the occurrence of the particle -ni morphologically nullifies the distinction between the past and present perfect verbal forms. That is, the negative of present perfect does not occur and is expressed by the negative past form only:

Past	:	Uno *gAe*	'they (rem.) went'
Present perfect}	:	Uno *gAiM*	'they (rem.) have gone
Negative	:	Uno *gAe-ni*	'they (rem.) did not go ' or 'they (rem.) have not gone'

-ni is used to negate a few non-finite verbal forms also which occur as heads of subordinate clauses. Thus for example, forms such as relative (adjectival) participle[5], conditional, etc., are negativised by -ni. The following examples illustrate it.

Relative (adjectival) participle

In the formation of negative relative participle -ni precedes the relative participle suffix, viz., -so:

gIri-so	kItab meri	'the book which fell, is mine'
gIri-ni-so	kItab meri	'the book which did not fall, is mine'

Conditional :- Here -ni precedes the conditional particle, to:

Uno	*puche* to de	'if they (rem.) ask, please give (it)'
Uno	*puche-ni* to de	'if they (rem.) do not ask, please give (it)'

A -ni construction is interrupted by the occurrence of the emphatic particle -c. That is, -c intervenes the verbal form and the particle -ni :

mAiM	*bol-ya-ni*	'I (sg.ml.) did not tell'
mAiM	*bol-ya-c-ni*	'I (sg.ml.) did not tell at all'

-nako: — The obligative verbal form serves as the stem for this negative particle. The resulting construction is a morphological construction. The whole form occurs as the head of the subordinate clause and gives the meaning 'not having done so-and- so', i.e., not having seen, not having written, etc. The subject of the form and that of the finite verb are co-referential and identical. The negative form with the obligative stem khana and -nako is khana-nako 'not having eaten'. Other examples are:

tu p*ARKo* fel hoga	'having studied, you (sg.ml.) failed'
tu p*ANNa-nako* fel hoga	'having not studied, you (sg.ml.) failed'

When reduplicated this negative form gives the meaning 'not having done so-and-so since long past', e.g.,

hona-nako hona-nako, Ab hoiM bAcce Use	'children have been born to her (rem.) now, after a long span of time (lit. having not been born for a long time in the past)'
jana-nako jana-nako gAi to bhan ku pucko bi dekhyani	'(he) did not even talk, when the sister went (to him) after a long span of time (lit. not having gone for a long time in the past)'

-noko : — This particle has perhaps limited occurrence and is used exclusively to negate the imperative form of verb. It may otherwise be known as prohibitive suffix. This always follows the verb form, e.g.,

a	'[please you (sg.)] come'
a-nokko	'[please you(sg.)] do not come'
kha-o	'please [you (hon.sg. or pl.)] dine'
khao-noko	' " do not dine'

-na: — The particle -na is used to negate a sentence which has subjunctive form of verb as its predicate. The subjunctive form is used to refer to a situation which is far from reality or it involves some sort of imagination that does (or may) not correspond to the actual fact:

Une bol-ti to mAiM *ja-t-i*	'had she (rem.) told me, I (sg.fn.) would have gone'
Une bol-ti to mAiM *jati-na*	'had she (rem.) told me, I (sg.fn.) would not have gone'
tu ata to mAiM *de-t-a*	'had you (sg.ml.) come, I (sg.ml.) would not have given'
tu ata to mAiM *deta-na*	'had you (sg.ml.) come, I (sg.ml.) would not have given'

na occurs in its free form too, discontinuously in a sequence *na* ..... *na* when it functions as a connective. Here, it has each of its parts placed at the head of the elements linked and expresses the meaning equivalent to English 'neither ...... nor':

Us dIn *na* pan mIlya *na* cUnna mIlya	'that day neither the betal leaf nor the betal nut was available'

na occurs prefixed to the past adverbial participle of the stem ho- 'happen, occur', viz., ho-ko resulting in the form -nahoko' (lit. having not happened)'. This form functions as a connective and gives adverbial meaning 'besides, in addition to':

ye do pennaM *nahoko*, Abi do pennaM bhejo	'please send two more pens ***besides*** these two (pens)'

nAkko: — It is an exact opposite of hona 'needed' and is basically used to negate those sentences which express the want, e.g.,

mAje ca *hona*	'I want tea (lit. tea is wanted to me)'
mAje ca *nAkko*	'I do not want tea (lit. tea is not wanted to me)'
Use Sadi *hona*	'he/she (rem.) requires marriage (lit. to him or her (rem.) marriage is wanted)'
Use Sadi *nAkko*	'he/she (rem.) does not require marriage (lit. to him or her (rem.) marriage is not wanted)'

Some times nAkko functions as the whole utterance without any item preceding or following it. In such cases it means 'it is not needed' or 'I don't want it', e.g.,

mAiM bi ande sat?	'shall I too accompany (lit. shall I too come along)'
nAkko	'not necessary, (it is not needed)'

Frequently it precedes the negative imperative form of the verb, e.g.,

nAkko, anoko	'no, please don't come (lit. I do not want (your coming); don't come)'
nAkko, Use bUlanoke	'no, don't call him [lit. I don't want (your calling him): don't call him]'

In a few other occasions, it precedes the imperative forms. In such cases probably it is used to negate the assertation of another speaker.

nAkko, tUme jao	'not necessary, please move'
nAkko, tUmara kam tUme dekho	'not necessary, please mind your own business'

nAiM : — This negative particle has a wider freedom of occurrence than all the other negative forms. It is used to negate the non-verbal (equational) sentences. It is also employed to negate copular sentences with rhA-. The scope of this negative sometimes extends over whole of the sentence.

Nonverbal (equational) sentences are used to ascribe a particular role to the subject or to ascribe certain qualities or characteristics to the subject. Sometimes, they express the identity between the subject and what is predicated of it. All of these are negativised by nAiM :

Une ramAnna	'he (rem.) is Mr. Ramanna'
Une ramAnna nAiM	'he (rem.) is not Mr. Ramanna'
baSa DakTAr	'Basha is a doctor'
baSa DakTAr nAiM	'Basha is not a doctor'
cUvve xArab	'the rats are bad'

cUvve xArab nAiM 'the rats are not bad'

nAiM occurs in all the copular sentences having rhA- and its inflected forms as main verbs exclusively to negate them. The copular hA- and its inflected forms are basically stative in their implication and express existence in case of abstract entities and presence in case of concrete things, e.g.,

Alla hAe	'God exists'
Alla nAiM hAe	'God does not exist'
pAise the	'there was (lit.were) money'
pAise nAiM the	'there was (lit.were) no money'

The copula is an obligatory constituent in the predicate of sentences having spatial implication with place adverbs or adverbial phrases too or that of sentences expressing possession. Such sentences are also negativised by using nAiM:

billyaM dIvar po hiM	'the cats are on the wall'
bIllyaM dIvar po nAiM hiM	'the cats are not on the wall'
Ise ghAr hAe	'he or she (prox.) owns a house'
Ise ghAr nAiM hAe	'he or she (prox.) does not own a house'
bicchu ku AŋkhyaM rhAtAiM	'the scorpion would have eyes'
bIcchu ku AŋkhyaM nAiM rhAtAiM	'the scorpion would have no eyes'

In the above negative sentences h- is generally deleted while rhA- and th- are retained.

nAiM is employed to negate verbal sentences too. Whole predicate is paraphrastic consisting of an inflected form of verb followed by the auxiliary h-. In such instances, it syntactically immediately precedes the auxiliary, e.g.,

mAiM ghAr ku jati huM	'I (sg.fn.) am going home'
mAiM ghAr ku jati nAiM huM	'I (sg.fn) am not going home'
Une khet nagArta hAe	'he (rem.) is ploughing the field'
Une khet nagArta nAiM hAe	'he (rem.) is not ploughing the field'

There is no evidence in the data at hand to indicate the occurrence of nAiM in other verbal sentences involving rhA- and th- as auxiliaries. Further, probe is needed in order to hypothesize whether or not such constructions employ nAiM:

When the negative sense is to be specifically emphasized the habitual present-cum-future form employ nAiM (which precedes the form in lieu of -ni):

Une jata-ni	'he(rem.) does not/will not go'
Une nAiM jata	'he(rem.) (certainly) does not/will not go'

nAiM may also function as a complete utterance to negate a complete interrogative sentence:

Une gAya tha?	'had he come?'
nAiM	'no'
hattyMM AiM?	'have the elephants come?
nAiM	'no'

But frequently the negative sentence follows:
nAiM ba, mAiM letani 'no, I do/ will not take'

nAiM followed by the particle to, i.e., nAiM to 'if not' functions as a connective: bole sArka sUn, nAiM to maraM khatAe 'please obey as dictated, otherwise (you) will be manhandled'

Conclusion

In the preceding paragraphs, we have discussed the particles employed in Dakkhni to express the phenomenon of negation. There are altogether six different particles, viz., -ni, -nako, -noko, -na, nAkko and nAiM. All of them contrast with each other with respect to their distribution. The main criterion for their distribution is the type of verbal form possessed by the predicate of the sentence or the presence or absence of copula in predicate phrase.

Notes

1. Dakkhni was the form of speech current in Delhi in 1300 A.D. It is a descendant of New-Indo-Aryan dialects in and around Delhi and is considered as an earliest ancestral predecessor of what is known as the contemporary 'Hindi-Urdu'. The dialect moved to Deccan with the troops of Alauddin Khilji (1295 A.D.) and also by the shifting of the capital from Delhi to Devgiri (1327 A.D.) by Mohammad Bin Tughlaq. In Deccan it developed independently and produced a good deal of literature during the 14-16th centuries. Currently, however, Dakkhni is only a spoken dialect in Deccan. It is spoken in almost all the southern States of India along with the native languages of Deccan viz., Telugu, Tamil and Kannada (Knan & Mustafa 1984).
2. Scholars have labeled particles of negation as 'adverbs of negation' (Singh J.D. 1970 : 67) and also as markers (Raina S.N. 1976).
3. The comula represent both person and number. The term is due to D.N.S. Bhat.
4. The paradigm of habitual present-cum-future form (without -ni) has altogether five forms as follows:

mAiM ja-t-uM	'I (sg.ml.) habitually go/will go'
mAiM ja-t-yuM	'I(sg.fn.) habitually go/will go'
tu/Ine/Une ja-t-Ae	'you (sg.ml.) /he (prox.) /he (rem.) habitually go(es) /will go'
tu/Ine/Une ja-t-ye	'you (sg.ml.) /she (prox.) /she (rem.) habitually go(es) /will go'
hAme/tUme/Ino/Uno ja-t-AiM	'we/you(pl.) /they (prox.) they (rem.) habitually go/will go'

5. The relative (adjectival) participle occurs as an adjective or adjectival phrase.

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Pronouns in Gondi

G.V. Natarajan

Introduction

The Gond people, who refer to themselves as Koibor, are quite numerous and are distributed through the length and breadth of Madhya Pradesh. A sizable number of them are found in Andhra, Maharashtra, Orissa and Bihar. They may largely be divided into two groups, viz., 1) Raj Gonds, i.e., the Gonds of the districts of Mandla, Chindevara, Betul, Balaghat, Bhandara and During of M.P, Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh and some parts of Chanda and Yeotmal of Maharashtra and 2) Bastar Gonds consisting of Muria, Abujhmaria or Hill Maria, Bison-horn Maria or Dandami Maria, Dorla and Koya tribes living in and around of Bastar district of M.P. Based on the linguistic differences found among various subtribes mentioned above, the Gondi language, which is an important member of the Central Dravidian group, should be divided into three major groups as given below:

a) Raj Gondi, b) north Bastar Gondi and c) South Bastar Gondi. The division of Bastar Gondi as North and South also coincides with natural boundary. The river Indravathi enters the Bastar district in the plateau near Jagdolpur and flows from East to West dividing the district into two portions, namely, North and South Bastar. The North Bastar Gondi is further divided into two dialect zones based on the linguistic differences found in the speech of Hill-Maria Gonds and Muria Gonds. Hill Maria Gonds confine themselves to the Abejhmar hills of Narainpur fahsil and Murias are the predominant population of the plains of Kondagaon and Narainpur tahsils. Similarly, the South Bastar Gondi is further divided into three dialect zones, i.e., the Gondi as spoken by the Dhur Gonds or Dhuruwas inhabiting the Darba region of South Bastar, the Gondi (Dorli) as spoken by Dorlas of Bijapur, Bopalpatnam and Konta tahsil bordering Andhra Pradesh and the Gondi as spoken by Bison-horn Maria Gonds of Dantewara tahsil.

This article aims at describing the structure of a grammatical category, pronouns, as found in various Gondi dialects, namely, Muria, Hill-Maria, Bison-horn Maria (henceforth Maria) and Dorli, with the limited data, it must be emphasized here that this is not an exhaustive study and there is scope for further improvement.

Personal Pronouns

Personal Pronouns distinguish grammatical categories of person, number, case and - in the third person-gender. In Dravidian, the original morpheme to indicate the first and second persons seems to be-n or - an in singular and -m or -am

in the plural. In Gondi, the forms for the first person are extended by duplicating them. In many of the dialects of Gondi there is also the addition of -ṭ in the plural (e.g. Hill-Maria. ma:-ṭ 'we'). Bhattacharya (1968:350) opined that this plural morpheme -ṭ seems to be the morpheme for indicating the first person exclusive, although exclusive pronominal forms have not yet recorded from any dialect of Gondi. But in Maria and Dorli dialects of Gondi, we find the clear distinction between exclusive and inclusive plural in the first person pronominal forms.

First person

Only two forms are available in Muria for first person: nanna I,' mammo:ṭ 'we' In accusative and dative cases -k or -kin is used for the first and second persons. na:k, na:kin 'me, to me', ma:k ma:kin 'us to us'. The pronominal genitives in Muria behave in the same pattern as that of nominal genitives, i.e., the genitive forms are used as adjectival bases changing according to singular or plural number and masculine or non-masculine gender of the objects possessed by them. The genitive suffix -a or -va remains unchanged when the object is non-masculine singular.

na:va lo:n	'my house'
na:va miya:ṛ	'my daughter'
na:va ta:li	'my cow'

But the form is changed to na:va:-n when the object is non- masculine plural.

na:va:-n miyahk	'my daughters'
na:va:-n ṭa:lihk	'my cows'

When the object is in masculine gender, the masculine singular or plural suffix is added to the genitive bases. The forms na:va and ma:va become na:vor and ma:vor.

na:vor mar	'my son'
na:vor mark	'my sons'
ma:vor bu:bal	'our father'
ma:vor bu:balor	'our fathers'

The same situation, i.e., the genitive forms changing according to gender and number of the object, is noticed in Hill-Maria dialect also.

id na:wa: miya:ṛ	'this is my daughter'
wo:r na:wo:r mari a:ndur	'he is my son'
na:wa: lo:n	'my house'
na:wa:ṅ lo:hk	'my houses'
na:wa:ṅ pe:kiṅ	'my girls'

But in Maria and Dorli dialects, spoken in Southern parts of Bastar, the case of genitive agreeing with the number and gender of the following noun, is totally missing. This aspect is one of the evidences for the division of Bastar Gondi into two dialect zones as North and South Bastar Gondi. The forms of the first person of Maria dialect are as follows.

	Direct	oblique
Sg.	nan(a)	na:-

Pl. excl.	mom(o)	ma:-
Pl. incl.	manal	mam- (mana- before acc., and dative)

Some examples are given below to illustrate the declension of first personal pronouns.

nanna itta:n	'I gave'
mom pa:rito:m	'we (excl.) sing'
vo:r na:va: pe:ko:r ayo	'he is not my son'
na:k erka minde	'I have fever'
vo:r na:kin u:ditor	'they see me'
mana:l ad na:rde mato:m	'we (incl) stayed at that village'
na mayde e:r tara	'bring water for me'

In Dorli dialect the first person singular form is nan(a) which is a nominative stem. na:- is the oblique form to which only different case suffixes could be added. The first person plural has two forms: a) inclusive pl. mana:r (which includes the person addressed to) b) exclusive pl. moma (which excludes the person addressed to). Both have oblique base ma- and mam(a) respectively some examples are given below for the declension of the Dorli first person pronouns.

nana sadvita:n	'I read'
nay na:nin kast	'dog bites me'
ad ma:to:nte wa:ta	'she came with us'
ma:k suku dab i:m	'give us some money'
ma:wa: lo:hk	'our houses'
na:yag ayd ru:pa: minde:	'I have five rupees'
moma pa:ta pa:rito:m	'we (excl.) sing(a) song'
mana:r ade na:tinag a:ngito:m	'we (incl) stayed at that village only'

In Hill-Maria dialect only two forms are available. nanna 'I' (obl. na:-), ma:t 'we' (obl. ma:-). The exclusive and inclusive distinction is absent in that dialect. In the Adilabad dialect (Andhra Pradesh) also exclusive and inclusive distinction in first person plural is absent. There are only two forms nanna 'I' (obl. na:-) and mara:t 'we'.

Second person

All the Gondi dialects are uniform in having similar second person singular forms. Maria, Maria, Hill-Maria and Dorli have nima (nimma) while the Adilabad dialect (of Andhra Pradesh) has nimme. But the forms of the second person plural is variously presented in each dialect.

Muria.	nimat (~ nimmat)
Maria	mi:r
Hill Maria	mi:t
Dorli	mi:r(u)
Adilabad	mira:t

In the above mentioned second person plural forms to final consonant -r/-r/-t may be connected to the plural suffixes noted in the respective dialects. These

pronouns are not inflected for gender. Honorific and non-honorific distinction also is not maintained.

Third Person

There is no separate form to denote the demonstrative pronoun and pronouns of third person. The forms of the demonstrative pronouns are employed to denote third person pronouns also. For third person different forms are in use in each dialect. Third person pronouns differ form the pronouns of the first and second persons in two respects. Firstly, these make a distinction of gender which the pronouns of the first and second persons do not. There are two genders — masculine and non-masculine, i.e., feminine and neuter. Secondly, these pronouns make a distinction between proximate and remote demonstratives. Proximate demonstratives indicate that the person or thing referred to is nearer to the speaker while the remote demonstratives indicate that the person or thing referred to is far from the speaker. In Dorli there is a separate form to denote for remote demonstrative also.

Demonstrative pronouns of Dorli are:

	Masculine		**Non-Masculine**	
	sg.	*pl.*	*sg.*	*pl.*
Remote	ũ:ḍ	u:r	u:d	u:w
Far remote	õ:ḍ	o:r	ad	aw
Proximate	ĩ:ḍ	i:r	id	in

In Maria dialect, the following forms are noted.

	Masculine		***Non-Masculine***	
	sg.	*pl.*	*sg.*	*pl.*
Proximate	we:r ~ e:r	we:rlor ~ e:rlor	id	iw
Remote	wo:r ~ o:r	wo:rlor ~ o:rlor	ad	aw

In maria dialect also we find the three-way distinction of far remote, remote and proximate demonstrative pronouns in masculine gender. But in non-masculine we have only two-way distinction — proximate and remote. The masculine plural of remote and proximate demonstrative are not available.

	Masculine		***Non-masculine***	
	sg.	*pl.*	*sg.*	*pl.*
Far remote	o:r ~ o:ṛ	o:rlor		
Remote	e:r ~ e:ṛ	—	ad	av
Proximate	i:r ~ i̤:ṛ	—	id	iv

To facilitate easy comparison, the personal pronouns of Gondi are presented in the form of a table at the end of this paper.

Demonstrative adjectives

In all Gondi dialects, the third person pronominal forms are themselves used as demonstrative adjectives.

Maria	e:ṛ ma:ney	'this man'
	o:ṛ pe:ko:ṛ	'that boy'
	aḍ pe:gḍi	'that girl'
	av lo:hk	'those houses'
	iv ranṭan koytahk	'these two (Gond) women'
Hill Maria	iw pilang	'these girls'
	ad na:r	'that village'
	wo:r iruwi:r ma:ne:	'those two men'
	ida:l a:ṛ	'this type of woman'
	ada:l ma:ne:	'that type of ;man'
Maria	vo:ṛ pe:ko:ṛ	'that boy'
	ve:r na:maṛ	'he is my son'
	o:r da:da:n mar	'he (distant) is my elder brother's son'
	id me:ka	'this goat'
Dorli	aw ma:hk	'those villages'
	u:r pe:ko:r	'those boys' (far distant)
	ũ:ḍ pe:ka:l	'that boy' (far distant)
	i:r iruwur mansu:nk	'those two (prox) men' etc.

Interrogative pronouns

In all the dialects of Gondi, the interrogative pronominal base is b- to which remote demonstrative forms are added,

Maria	bo:ṛ	'who' (masc. sg. and pl.)
	baḍ	'who' (non-masc. sg.)
	bav	'who' (non-masc. pl.)
	baga where	

Acc. Dat. bo:n 'whom' (masc.); baden (non-masc.).

Instrumental	bo:nate (masc. sg.)
	bo:ṇa-ne (masc. pl.)
Ablative	bo:na (masc. sg.); bo:no:r (masc. pl.)
Genitive	badena (non-masc. sg.)
	bavena (non-masc. pl.)
	badenoṛ (masc. sg.)
	bavenoṛ (masc. pl.)

Illustrations:	o:ṛ bo:ṛ a:nduṛ	'who is he?'
	ad bad a:nd	'who is she?'/'who is it?'
	bo:na lo:n	'whose house?'
	bo:nate	'by which man?'
	bade:na	'by which woman?'
	bave:na	'by which women?'
	e:ṛ pe:ko:ṛ baveno:ṛ	'these sons are of which woman?'
	e:ṛ pe:ka:l badeno:ṛ	'this son of which woman?'

Maria:

In Maria dialect, there are two sets of interrogative pronouns--one for masculine and the other for non-masculine,

	be:no:r	(masc. sg.)
	be:no:ṇ	(masc. pl.)
	bed	(non-masc. sg.)
	bev	(non-masc. pl.)

E.g.:	o:r be:no:r	'who is he?' (distant)
	o:ṛ be:no:ṛ	'who are they?' (distant)
	ve:r be:no:r	'who is he?' (proximate)
	bed na:r	'which village?'
	bew pa:ṭa:	'which songs?' etc.

Hill-Maria:

In Hill-Maria dialect also the interrogative base is ba- and the masculine and non-masculine interrogative pronouns are derived by adding the respective suffixes,

ba + o:r — bo:r	who (masc. sg.)
ba + o:rlor — bo:rlor	who (masc. pl.)
ba + ad — bad	which (non-masc. sg.)
ba + aw — baw	which

These pronouns are inflected for gender and number.

wo:r bo:n ke:yintur	'whom is he calling?'
bo:r iga wa:tur	'who came here?'
mi:ṭ bo:no:r mark a:ndur	'whose sons are you?'
id bo:na lo:n	'whose house is this?'
ad bade:n tit	'what did she or it eat?'
iw bo:rlo:ra:ṅ lo:hk a:nduṅ	'whose (pl.) houses are these?'

Dorli:

In Dorli, the interrogative pronoun is be:n or be:nu:nḍ which is derived from the base be. It also means 'someone', 'anyone' etc.

o:nḍ be:n/be:nu:nḍ mansu:nḍ	'who is that man?'
nima be:nu:nḍ	'who are you?'

some of the inflected forms of the interrogative pronouns are given below.

be:nu:n + ad — be:nu:nad	'whose'
be:nu:n + ton — be:nu:nton	'anybody'
be:nu:n + u:r — be:nu:nu:r	'who'
be:nu:n + se:ṅga — be:nunse:ṅga	'for whom'
ba: + ta: — ba:ta	'what'
ba:ta: + n — ba:ta:n	'some, something'

When reduplicated the interrogative pronouns be:nu:n and ba:ta give a variety of meanings.

lo:t dagger be:nunbe:nun mande:r 'who else live near the house?'

santnune ba:taba:ta tatti:n 'what else you brought from the bazaar?'

Reflexive pronouns

All Gondi dialects, attest the reflexive pronoun ta:n, recorded also elsewhere in Dravidian. But in Gondi the reflexive pronoun does not express the real reflexive sense as in the sentence 'Raju beats himself' but rather conveys the third pronominal meaning of 'his' or 'her'. This reflexive is inflected for gender and number both.

Hill Maria:	ta:na miya:ṛ	'her daughter'
	ta:naṅg miya:sk	'her daughters'
	ta:no:r mar	'his son'
	ta:nalor mark	'his sons' etc.

In Maria, ta:n has a feminine reflex.

	ta:noṛ pe:ka:l	'her own son'
	te:na lo:n	'her own house'
Dorli:	tana lo:n	'his/her own house'
	tana da:da	'his/her own brother'
	tana kuṭma:m	'his/her own family'
	o:nḍ tana lo:n anjo minde:nḍ	'he is going to his own house'
	ad tana lo:n anjo minde	'she is going to her own house'

Other words like sontam, kuding also convey the reflexive meaning in the following sentences.

nanna id lo:n sontam/kuding pandta:n	' I built this house myself'
nanna addate kuding u:ṛ ta:n	'I saw myself in the mirror'

In Maria, we find two forms ta:n and te:n referring to remote and proximate third person feminine.

ta:na miya:sk	'her (distant) own daughters'
te:na maya:sk	'her (proximate) own daughters'

Relative pronouns

In Maria, the function of the relative pronoun is accomplished with the help of compounds. A verbal noun is formed with -na to which case suffixes are added.

kilha-na-tun manah kim	'disuade the woman who is making the child weep'
day-na-tun hiya	'give her who is going'
tinda-na-tun keya	'call her who is eating'

They are also formed from the negative verbal constructions.

na:va unva pa:dun un	'drink the milk which has not been drunk by me'
nine o:yva pa:ṭadun ne:nḍ o:yṭ	'sing the song which was not sing yesterday'

relative pronouns are formed by adding bital (masc) and biti (non- masc.) to nouns giving the meaning of 'who belongs to so-and-so place'.

bilaspur bital va:yore	'he who belongs to Bilaspur did not come at all'
pi:ṭo vehka bitin bi:ṛiṅg hiya:ka	'beedies will be given to him who tells a story'

Relative pronoun constructions are commonly found to be used by using two simple sentences without any conjunction,

ninne e:ndta, nanna a:nda	'I am she who danced yesterday'
ninne ṇi:kun hituṛ, o:ṛ e:ṛ a:nduṛ	'this is the man who beat you yesterday'

In Hill-Maria, the function of the relative pronoun is expressed by the use of the interrogative pronouns and their respective third person pronouns like bo:r----wo:r, bad ----ad etc.

bo:r iga wa:tur, wo:r na:wo:r tape:r a:ndur'who came here (now), is my father'
bad aga me:yinta, ad ma:wa ṭa:li a:nd 'which is grazing there is my cow'

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Personal Pronouns of Gondi

	I Person		*II Person*		*III Person Masculine*		*III Person Non-Masculine*	
	Singular	***Plural***	*Sigular*	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Maria	nan(a)	mom (excl.) manal (incl.)	nima	mi:ṛ	o:r (Rem.) ve:r (P:rox.)	or ve:ṛ	ad id	aw iw
Dorli	nan(a)	moma (excl.) mana:ṛ (incl.)	nima ~ nimma	mi:r(u)	ũ:ḍ (Rem.) ĩ:ḍ (Prox.) õ:ḍ (Far Rem.)	u:r i:r o:r	u:d id ad	u:w iw aw
Hill-Maria	nanna	ma:ṭ	nima	mi:ṭ	wo:r/o:r (Rem.) we:r/e:r (Prox.)	wo:rlor/o:rlor we:rlor/e:rlor	ad id	aw iw
Adilabad	nanna	mara:ṭ	nimme	mira:ṭ	vo:r (Rem.) ve:r (Prox.)	vu:r vi:r	ad id	av iv
Muria	nanna	mammo:ṭ	nimma/ nima	nimmaṭ/ nimaṭ	e:r/e:ṛ (Rem.) i:r/i:ṛ (Prox.) o:r/o:ṛ (Far Rem.)	— — o:rlor	ad id —	av iv —

□

Hindi ho:na: - Sindhi huANu and thiANu

Kanhaiyalal Lekhwani

Introduction

Because of its peculiar syntactic and semantic nature the verb 'ho:na:' in Hindi is discussed in detail by many traditional grammarians, language teachers and modern linguists.

According to Kellogg, 'ho:na:' is an auxiliary verb which has two meaning 'to be' and 'to become' and has more conjugations than other verbs.

Scholberg considers hu;M 'am' and tha 'was' type verb forms as 'helping words' and handles ho:na: 'become' separately. His description also shows that ho:na: 'to become' can have perfect and imperfect aspects forms but hu:M and 'tha' can not have such forms.

Guru gives two meanings of the verb ho:na: (i) stative and (ii) non-stative. According to him in the first sense, it has only two tenses (present and past) and in the second sense its conjugation takes place just as in the case of other verbs; but from some of its tenses, the first meaning is also derived.

Behl's treatment of the verb 'ho:na' is similar to that of Guru, only the approach differs. Bahl considers two ho:na: verbs in Hindi — ho:na: and ho:na:. The ho:na: is like any other verb. The ho:na: may be considered as a separate sub-class of Hindi verbs, mainly for the following reasons:

(a) It functions as one of the auxiliaries and also as an independent verb. In both the cases it has two tenses only.

(b) As an independent verb, it has two distinct functions — as a predicate and as a copula. It cannot be followed by any of the explicators.

Van Olphen analyses the verb 'ho:na:' in detail. On the basis of stative and non-stative concept, he feels that there are two ho:na: verbs in Hindi and labels them as ho:na: - intransitive and ho:na:-linking.

Kachru indicates that several forms of the single 'ho:na:' have the meaning 'become' in addition to 'be'. She handles ho:na: 'to be' differently. According to her;

(i) The verb 'ho:' is used as a complement less verb in only very special contexts as; i:SwAr hAi 'God exists'.

(ii) In ordinary copulative sentences, 'ho' functions as the linking verb.

(iii) All forms of 'ho:na:' and the compound verb 'ho:jana' are used in the sense of becoming.

(iv) All forms of ho:na: except the simple present 'hAi' and simple past 'tha' are used in the sense of happening.

Statements of this nature are also available in many other grammars.

According to Satyanarayana, in a "descriptively adequate" grammar of Hindi ho:na: should be derived in at least four ways; they are (i) 'be' ho:, (ii) becoming ho: (iii) possess ho: and (iv) ho of tense.

In many Indian Languages (as Sindhi, Marathi and Gujarati, etc.) separate verbs are used for 'to be' and 'to become'.

In Sindhi, the verbs huANu and thiANu are used which may be considered as the equivalents to the Hindi ho:na:. The verb 'huANu' is used as an independent verb in copulative sentences and gives the sense of 'to be' or 'to possess'. It is also used as an auxiliary verb in different types of sentences to express the mood and tense. It does not enter in imperfective and perfective aspect contrast. Any how it may be used to express the genratic sense. It has two variant forms —

(i) ah- (as ah-e:) 'is' (ah-yaM 'an' etc.)

(ii) 'hu- (as hu-Aci) 'was' (f.sg. Ist person) (For details see Lekhwani)

The verb 'thiANu' is used as an independent verb in non-copulative sentences and gives the sense of 'to become' or 'to happen'. It functions like any other verb and have all types of aspects. It is used as an auxiliary verb only in simple present tense type constructions.

It has two variant forms 'th-' and 'thi-'. The form 'th-' occurs with a number-cum- gender marker as an auxiliary verb in simple present tho (m,sg), th-a (m,pl), th-i (f,sg), thyu:N (f,pl) and progressive past (th-c:) and thi- occurs in other positions; as thiAsi 'became' (f,sg. I person) and etc.

When Hindi speakers (or the speaker using Hindi as a filter language) learn a language like Sindhi which has more than one verb equivalent to 'ho:na:', it becomes a difficult task for them to use an appropriate verb form. The interference of Hindi 'ho:na:' leads them towards the erroneous sentence formation.

The following Hindi (H) and Sindhi (S) sentences may be observed.

1. (H)	(i)	ri:Ta Acchi: LARKi: hae	'Rita is a good girl'.	
	(ii)	ri:Ta Acchi: LARKi: thi	'Rita was a good girl'.	
	(iii)	ri:Ta Acchi: LARKi: go:gi	'Rita will be/might be a good girl'.	
2. (S)	(i)	ri:Ta suThi: cho:kri: ahe	'Rita is a good girl'.	
	(ii)	ri:Ta suThi: cho:kri: hUi	'Rita was a good girl'.	
	(iii)	ri:Ta suThi: cho:kri ho:ndi	'Rita will be/might be a good girl'.	
	(iv)	ri:Ta suThi: cho:kri thi:ndi	'Rita will be become a good girl'.	

Thus, we find that in huANu is used for 'to be' and 'thiANu' for 'to become'. While in H, two meanings are attribulated to ho:na:.

Same way the following sentences in H have more than one meanings.

3. (H)	WAh ne:ta ho:ga	'He should/may be a leader'	*or*
		'He will become a leader'	
4. (H)	apka kam ho:ga	'You must be having some work'	*or*
		'Your work will be done'	

The above sentences in S will be written as —

5. (S)	(i)	hu: ne:ta hu:ndo	'He should/may be a leader'.
	(ii)	hu: ne:ta thi:ndo	'He will become a leader'.

6. (S) (i) tawhaMjo: kAmu hu:ndo: 'you must be having some work'.
(ii) tAwhaMjo: kAmu thi:ndo: 'your work will be done'.

Another type of constructions where S learners are confused is stative and non-stative past.

7. (H) uska do:st DakTAr tha 'His friend was a doctor'.
8. (H) uska do:st DakTAr hUa 'His friend became a doctor'.

For the above mentioned 7 and 8 sentences S sentences will be

9. (S) hunAjo: do:stu DakTAru ho 'His friend was a doctor'.
10. (S) hUnAjo; do:stu DakTAru thyo 'His friend became a doctor'.

On the basis of H th- and h- analogy, the learners form erroneous sentences for 9 and 10 respectively, as:

11. (S) hUnAjo do:stu DakTAru tho
12. (S) hunAjo do:stu DakTAru ho

The sentence 12 is acceptable in S. But it does not give the required meaning, i.e., 'His friend became a doctor'. As it is discussed it gives the meaning. 'His friend was a doctor'. Some more examples:

13. (H) WAhaM kya hua 'What happened there?'
14. (S) hute: cha thiyo 'What happened there?'
15. (H) WAhaM kya tha 'What was there?'
16. (S) hute: cha ho 'What was there?'

It is discussed above that apart from copulative sentences hUANu is also used as a main verb in generic sense, as:

17. (S) nagpuri: narAngyu:m miThyu:m hu:ndyu M ahIni
'Nagpur oranges are (generally) sweet.
18. (S) hu:A DAhe:m bAje: afi:sA me:M hu:ndi ahe:
'She is (generally) in the office at 10 O'clock'

But S learners many times use thiANu for it as for sentence 18 (S), they construct 19 (S).

19. (S) hu:A DAhe:M bAje: afi:sA me:M thi:ndi ahe:

On the other hand in many cases 'thiANu' is used by the learners at the place of huANu. As for the sentence 20 and 21, the learners form sentences as in 22 and 23 respectively.

20. (S) kAmu:thi rAhyo: ahe: 'The work is being done'.
21. (S) bAsi pu:ne: khaM thi:ndi we:ndi: ahe 'The bus goes via Pune'.
22. (S)* kAmu hui: rAhyo ahe
23. (S)* bAsi pu:ne: khaM hu:ndi: we:ndi: ahe

Thus, due to the Hindi interference the Sindhi learners commit errors while using the verb huANu and thiANu.

Conclusion

The following simple rules may be useful for Sindhi learners to minimize their errors:-

1. The verb 'thiANu' is used

(i) as a main verb in a non-copulative sentences, except the generic sentences.

(ii) as an auxiliary verb only in simple present and progressive past tense type sentences.

2. The verb 'huANu' is used

(i) as a main verb in copulative and generic sentences.

(ii) as an auxiliary verb in different type of sentences to show the mood and tense.

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Translating Poetry : Some Problems

Lalita Handoo

Introduction

"Translation" says Catford, "is the replacement of textual material in one language (SL: Source Language) by textual material in another language (TL: Target Language)". This replacement procedure, known as translation, therefore, involves replacement at various levels, and naturally involves different theories, ideologies and methodologies, and their applications. A variety of diverse and sometime opposing opinions have been formed by scholars about such theories and the methodologies they recommend. For instance, Arnold advocate the sacrifice of verbal accuracy for aesthetic effect (cf.Arnold, 1961) to bring the text closer to original. Newman stresses the need for "verbal exactitude" which give the impression that translation is not an original composition (cf.Newman, 1961). Notions such as 'full' versus 'partial', 'total' versus 'restricted' 'literal' versus 'free', and 'word-to-word' versus 'context-to-context' translation have been strongly championed by scholars, critic and professionals translators. These have also been widely discussed in academic circles. Similar discussion on the aspects of accuracy and perfection and their respective degrees in translations has generated good number of volumes. However, the issues have not been settled once and for all.

Realizing the difficulties of perfect translation, particularly of poetry, scholars however, agree that translation of any given piece of poetry may be termed "adequate" or "inadequate" depending upon the degree of accuracy. A translation is said to be adequate when it fulfill the minimum necessities of complete transcript of the original work including the style, manner and composition into the TL. Hence, "all translation is nothing other than a reflection of the artistic reality of the original and therefore, a creative process of reconstituting the form and the contents of the original in their unity" (Gachechiladze, 1970; 112). It is this effort of realizing "unity' on the one hand, in form and content and on the other in time and space, that poses some fundamental problems to translators and more particularly translators of poetry.

Levels of Translation

Translation is a process of decoding the SL symbols into SL concepts and matching these concepts with the TL concepts and then again transferring these concepts by encoding them into TL. Every translator at one time or the other, as is well known, has, in this process of translating a literary piece, to work on various levels — levels of language, concepts, ethno-semantics, etc. These processes

naturally necessitate keen understanding and accurate transferring of concepts besides an intimate knowledge of the two language and the culture they belong to. For instance, at the linguistic level it involves replacement at the morphological, lexical, grammatical, syntactic and semantic levels (this includes connotation and denotation etc.). At the situational level, it necessitates matching of the cultural, geographical and historical concepts of the two languages.

Poetry is generally conceived as a set of verses of a literary composition in verse. "Verse is the minimal condition of poetry", and naturally forms an integral part of its form. It is this verse form that differentiates prose from poetry; although the generic expressions such as "prose poetry" or "poetic prose" are very much being used in modern literary criticism; but, we are restricting our study here to poetry as a genre of literature, which is necessarily composed in verse. The fact that poetry is different from prose and the factors which make this distinction, form the problem areas for the translator and make poetic translation difficult, if not impossible.

One of the basic question frequently being asked regarding the translation of poetry is whether poetry should be translated in prose or verse. While scholars like Murray are of the opinion that "poetry ought always to be rendered into prose" (Murray, 1923: 129) to bring it closer to the original; others argue against the prose translation of poetry. This prose versus poetry controversy is summed up very appropriately by Tytler. According to him, translation of poetry is the "most absurd of all undertakings" (19— : 111). The very definitional requirement that the translation should be a *reflection of the artistic reality of the original* seems to suggest a creative process of recomposition which certainly involves versification beside other aspects. At the same time this recomposition also poses problems concerning originality. In other words, then, at what level is a perfect piece of translation supposed to reflect originality - at the levels of thought, content, or the form (i.e., rhythm metre, style etc.) or at all the levels. While it is true that the ideals set for a good translation have been to maintain the originality at all levels, but as we are aware, very few translations done so far can justify that. However, a perfect translation demands that the translator replaces in TL what the author says, what the author means and how he says that. In other words *thought, meaning and manner* of the original need be translated faithfully, which obviously, need working simultaneously at various levels of the text in such a manner so that a translator can rightfully claim his share of contribution in rebuilding or recreating the poetic work.

Problems of Translation

The problems pertaining to the translation of poetry can broadly be termed as linguistic and extralinguistic. The linguistic problems are at the lexical, structural and situational levels. The problems related to the lexical level are mainly those of matching words, phrases, idioms or idiomatic phrases or proverbs. Finding

translation equivalents of SL words need not always be easy, for the simple reason that the respective language reflect their cultures, their different cognitive conceptualized categories and notional systems. Thus the lexical problems in translation are mainly of three types - 'one to one', 'one-to- many' and 'one-to-none' correspondence. Similarly polysemy and oilgosemy of words may sometime obstruct smooth translatability. An item in SL may have a wide range of contextual meaning covering a wide range of specific situational features, but in a given situation, usually only one of the meanings of the item per se remains functionally relevant. In the same manner the 'false friendship' of words may also pose problems for the translator. Similar words from the cognate or non-cognate languages may not necessarily retain the same meaning/meanings both the languages. Hence, this similarity of form may be deceptive. A word which would appear to be common in two languages may have entirely different meanings in different languages or some restricted or extended meanings in one of the languages. The differences, contrariness, extension or restriction of meanings of these seemingly similar words of two different languages, can clearly be seen in the following examples from Hindi and Kashmiri :

	Hindi		***Kashmiri***
aśudh	'incorrect, erroneous, wrong, impure'	*aśud*	'very precious (thing), medicine, cure'
manhūs	'ominous, inauspicious, illfated, gloomy, sombre'	*manhūs*	'unsocial, sky, gloomy'

Thus these seemingly similar words, sometime stemming from the same source may not necessarily retain the same original meaning in both languages, drifted apart by time and circumstances (see Handoo and Handoo, 1973, especially the last sections). A good translator, therefore, should be able to conceive the correct meaning and differentiate the denotative and connotative meanings of the lexical items of the respective languages. Sometime, it may not be possible to match into the TL a restriction, if a SL item has a particularly restricted range of meaning.

More often than not the translator also face problems in translating idioms, idiomatic phrases and proverbial expressions. The very fact that they are idioms "means it is likely that the same type of distinctive form will have the same meaning in another language" (Nida and Taber, 1974: 106). The dilemma a translator faces in translating these is very clear. Should these be transferred as they are or translated into the TL. If these are to be translated, how accurately one can do that? And even when one does that, do these produce the same effect as the original? On the other hand, if these are only transferred and not translated then how far do they help in creating the required effect. These, and other questions are to required effect, These, and other questions are to be answered before a translator undertakes poetic translation of a given work of art. Mere transferring of untranslatable words or idioms into the TL is not an uncommon practice in literary translation. Sometime, it is done deliberately to introduce some local colour into the TL text. Thus at every stage and at every level, the translator has to make a choice and his "choice is clearly

not between a number of equivalents at all, more or less in exact. Such a choice depends largely on the personality of the translator and that it is essentially an aesthetic choice, cannot be denied". (Savoury, 1963: 26).

Verbal expressions, and written literature as well, as is well known derives upon the complex symbolic systems of culture. These systems, more often than not, lend semantic structure to artistic creations more particularly to poetry. Moreover, they also provide freedom of choice and potential of symbolic expressions to the creative artists or poets. This in literary jargon is sometime known as the style. The manner of expression or the style is yet another hurdle one faces in poetic translation. A close observation of human behaviour has revealed that even universal value are perceived differently by different humans or individuals and cultures. Should then the translated poem reflect the style and personality of the original author, or the translator? Besides his own personality, the time and space, i.e., the period of history in which an author lives and the socio-cultural and literary traditions which he shares, have certainly some bearing upon the style of that author. Therefore, should a translation read as a "contemporary of the translator"? Savoury believes that translation "includes the bridging of time as well as the bridging of space" (1963: 26)

Closely related with style are the problems of translating poetic rhythm, metre, symbol and images. Rhyme impose a certain amount of constraint on the translators choice of words. Practical experiences at translating poetry have shown that rhyme is an "informal nuisance". However, contemporary "prose-poetry" or "poetic prose" is not so much bound by rhyme, or metre. Therefore, while translating such works the translator may be expected to be more 'faithful' to the original, both in matter and manner.

Yet another problem, and perhaps an important one, is of complex structure of signs and the symbolic character of poetic language. Poetic images are difficult to translate for they are culture bound. Besides being connected with the structure of language, poetic images are the outcome of a specific literary and aesthetic tradition of a language and its culture and are, therefore, always translatable.

Having outlined although summarily, some of the main problems concerning translation of poetry, let us take an example and try to locate some of the main problems we have outlined here. The example, we have selected here is one of the best poetic pieces of famous Kashmiri poet Dinanath Nadion and also one of the best literary master piece of contemporary Kashmiri literature.

(A) **zu:n khəts tsoṭ hiš**
moon rose round bread like

dohɨt aki ko:h pəty zu:n khəts tsoṭ hiš
day one mountain behind moon rose round bread like

na:las tshenimisɨ tani vatshi trə:vith
collar worn-out bands opened

rɔpɨ tani hani-hani da:g nənirə:rith
Silver body part-part scars revealing

panɨ-panɨ   gəmɨts   po:mpury   poṭ   hiš
thread-bare   become   Pampur   thread   like
zu:n   khəts   tsot   hiš   thəčmɨts   goṭ   hiš
moon   rose   round bread   like   tired   dull   like
zan   mozrani   kas   ta:m   tshlɨrə:vith
like   a woman labourer   some   by guil
the kɨda:ran   əky   thəv   pušrə:vith
contractor   one   having   mixed
phutvə:tis   ri:ty   rɔpiyah   khoṭ,   hiš
coins   with   a rupee coin   counterfit   like
zu:n   khəts   tsoṭ   hiš   bɔči   ləj   ba:lan
moon   rose   round bread   like   hungry   felt   mountains
obran   heyts   beyi   gaji   tshe vira:vini
cloud   began   again   kitchenfires   putting out
vanɨ   viginyav   pyov   zan   wothɨda:nas
forest   fairies   lit   as if   portable stoves
bato   kuly   zan   khəty   sangarma:lan
rice   plants   as if   rose   on down
me   ti   hyəts   pha:kɨ   phəris   šech   ba:vɨny
me   too   began   starving   body   news   revealing
əch   phiry   phiry   vuch   me   ti   asma:nas
eye(s)   again   again   gazed   me   too   towards sky

This poem has recently been translated by scholars both in English and Hindi. Here, we present an English translation of this poem by Professor Trilokinath Raina in his *An Anthology of Kashmiri Verse* (1972) to illustrate the points raised earlier.

(B) **Moon**

The moon rose behind the mountain
Dressed in Worn-out, thread bare, pampur wad;
Open collar with frayed bands revealing
Sad dark stains on silver-white skin;
With a face like a big round loaf of bread;
Dull like a false rupee a contractor.
Gives some ignorant woman labourer
by guile, mixed with other coins.
The moon a loaf, and the mountains hungry.
The clouds put out again their Kitchen fires.
But the forest fairies lit their stoves.
And rice seemed to grow on mountains peaks.
I gave the glad news to my starving belly.
And gazed with all eyes at the hopeful sky.

For reasons of comparison and also for pinpointing, The areas where translation can pose serious problems, as we outlined in the sections above, I am presenting here a translation of the same poem which I have done so that the theoretical discourse is followed by a case study for better understanding of the problems of translating. The intention however is purely academic, to emphasize the subjective element in poetic translation, and not the perfection of one translation over the other.

(C) **Moon *Rose Like a Round-Bread***

One day the moon rose like a *round-bread* behind the mountains
Open collared, with worn-out frayed bands
Revealing scars on *every part* of her *silver body*
as if pampur tweed has become thread- bare .
Tired and dull *moon rose like a sound bread.*
like a counterfeit rupee a contractor gives
some Woman-labourer by guile mixed with other coins.
Moon rose like a round bread mountains *felt* hungry
The *clouds* again began putting out *the Kitchen fires*
as if the forest fairies had lit their *portable* stoves.
rice - abundant rice seemed to grown on dawn
I gave this news to my starving *body*
and gazed again and again at the sky.

A cursory examination of the original form with meanings (A), Raina's translation (B), and our translation with underlined portions (C) gives a very clear picture of the differences in these two translations of the same text, and also provides clues to the deviations or distortions one would like to notice in the first translation. It will be most appropriate to touch some of the basic qualities of the original text in Kashmiri, which we believe have been distorted or are missing in the English translation.

Take for instance the title. One is surprised to see /zu:n khəts tsoṭ hiš / 'Moon rose like a round-bread' being translated as 'Moon' only. This is a kind of translation in isolation. The translator seems to have ignored the thematic structure of the poem which the author has very artistically outlined in the title itself. It reminds us of a riddle structure in which usually the answer is hidden inside the text, but hard for some (those who do not have the knowledge of the riddle structure or riddle metaphor) to uncover it. Nadim has all along been a progressive poet, but unlike other poets of the same group, he never found any conflict between the social message and higher art. He firmly believed in the togetherness of bread and beauty as the fundamental characteristics of real art. Besides Nadim's other works, this is obvious from the original title of the poem. In yet another Hindi translation of the same poem the translator Hari Krishan Kaul (See his "phn:le: phulke: sa:čada: čã:d"

in Sapru, 1985) has added something, that is not in the original. He translates the title as "phu:le: phulke: sa: čada: čã:d" 'Moon rose like a puffed chapati'. In this case puffed (phu:le:) is added and as far as phulke: 'chapati' is concerned, it is obvious that it does not mean the kind of "bread". Nadim uses as the main metaphor for his poem, as "chapati" and "tsoṭ" are not synonyms in the folk mind of Kashmir and certainly not in the poetic metaphor. Raina's translation also seems to delete or add something which is not in the original. This process sometimes leads to some serious distortions. For example, the expression /doh akɨ/ 'one day', in Kashmiri mind and literary thought, has an echo of hope — a hope that is realized after much waiting or struggle. Deletion of this idea deprives the poem of the element of 'hope' in which the entire poem seems to have been set. Similarly, the expression /panɨ panɨ gə:mits po:mpury poṭ hiš/ (as if Pampur tweed has become thread base) does not mean that the moon was dressed in Pampur tweed as the translator seems to believe, but she herself was now tired and looked as worn-out piece of fine smooth and lustrous tweed woven in Pampur (famous place where such tweed is produced). Problems of lexical meaning as discussed above are not only a problem of finding the appropriate word in the TL for the SL concept or word, but it can be, sometimes, interpreted as the lack of knowledge of various semantic dimensions, or literary connotations of the concept or word in SL itself. Therefore, if one misunderstands a word or its meaning in the SL itself, one is bound to carry over that misunderstanding to the TL as well. Raina's (and Kaul's) translation of /sangarma:l/ as "mountains" is a very good example of this misunderstanding. /sangarma:l/ means "dawn" and *not* "mountains". Incidentally, it seems relevant here to mention another instance from the same Anthology (See Rahi's *zindagi* "Life", P.220-221) where /da:nɨ kuṭh/ has been translated as "granary". In fact the meaning of this lexical item is Kitchen. However, it is used by Muslims community of Kashmir to which the author of this poem belongs. Therefore, the confusion in meaning created by the translator is probably because of the lack of knowledge of the social dialects (C.F. Kachru, 1969) of Kashmiri language. Same is true with /batɨ kuly/, which does not mean simply "rice" but "rice trees" or "endless ṛice", *abundance,* and prosperity and so on.

There can be endless discourse on this brilliant piece of poetry and the problems it poses to a translator. However, our main purpose is to bring the discussion around this point was, primarily, to support what we said regarding the problems of translating poetry in this brief study.

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Some Aspects of Translation: Gujarati Translation of 'Banagarwadi'

Usha Nair

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to discuss with the help of the principle of Linguistics; what is translation? and how it should be? My concern is primarily with the problems, and difficulties a translator has to face in the process of translation and to suggest ways and means of over coming the difficulties. For this purpose, I intend to critically review, from the point of view of a Gujarati speaker, the Gujarati translation of a famous novel "Banagarwadi" from its original in Marathi (Vaynkatesh Madgulkar : 1958 : translated by Gopalrao Gajnan Vidwans : 1973, National Book Trust, India, New Delhi.) The emphasis is on the form, rather than the content. However, for determining how far the translator has been faithful to the contents of the original, an experiment has been carried out. One select page from the Gujarati translation was translated by four Marathi Speakers into Marathi; the original language of the book. These translations were compared with the original, and the results are presented in appendix 1. This paper is organized into three parts. In the first part, I discuss the theoretical aspects of 'translation', part II takes a critical look at the translation from the point of view of a Gujarati speaker with special emphasis on the form and style. This analysis also keeps in view the socio-cultural background of the people narrated in the novel. Part III is a concluding part and it includes how a linguist can help a translator. Appendix deals with the experiment mentioned earlier in this paper. 'To do translation' is not a new thing. It has been in existence, perhaps from the time man started recording his thoughts in different written forms. Beginning from 'Bible translations', it has now reached to 'Machine translation'.

What is Translation?

There are different opinions or rather different ideas, about what is translation? Different scholars have defined it in different ways.

One group of scholars feels that translation is to transfer, to change, or convert a written or spoken utterance from one language into another (Dr. Johnson, Smith, Savory, T,H. (1958), Patel, M,S. (1970). Some scholars with more or less similar views emphasize the "process" of transfer [Robin, C (1958), Lock & Booth (1955), Catford, J,c. (1958) and Nida, L.A. (1964)]. Yet another group of scholars emphasizes on 'meaning' and few others believe that a translator should communicate the original text intact to a reader of a different language. [Furley, D,J (1958), Forster, L. (1958). Savory and T,H. (1969]). According to Tancock,

L,W. (1958), the ideal translation should have the power to suspend the reader's disbelief, to make him think he is reading an original piece of work written in his own tongue.

Few others have tried to explain it differently. Glemet, R. (1958) says translation is "to recreate its thoughts and feelings in another language, its images, its rhythms". Mounin, M.G. (cf. Forster, L.:1958) Compares translation with a panel of glass, which may be clear, distorted or coloured.

In the light of the available literature we define, for the purpose of this paper, translation as "an art through which any literary/scientific work in a particular language, is translated retaining the meaning, to some other language, where the reader feels that it is not a translation but some original work in his own tongue or is nearer to it:

How Translation should be?

Various scholars have considered views about 'how translation should be?' Savory, T,H. (1969: 50) in his book *'The art of Translation'* has tried to list them in contrasting pairs. The list is as follows;

1. A translation must give the words of the original.
2. A translation must give the ideas of the original.
3. A translation should read like an original work.
4. A translation should read like a translation.
5. A translation should reflect the style of original.
6. A translation should posses the style of the translator.
7. A translation should read as a contemporary of the original.
8. A translation should read as a contemporary translator.
9. A translation may add to or omit from the original.
10. A translation may never add to or omit from the original.
11. A translation of verse should be in prose.
12. A translation of verse should be in verse.

It is clear from the literature on the subject that scholars have different views about, what a translation should be. Similarly, translator amongst themselves, also differ with each other. This leads to the fact that translation is not an easy process. These differences may be attributed to different types of translations and their aims.

The material for translation may be 'informative statements', meant for 'the general reader' where the content of communication is more important than the form and style. Savory, T,H. (1969) calls such translations 'almost characterless translations'. There is also another type, viz., 'Composite' translation which includes translation 'prose into prose, poetry into prose, poetry into poetry', or translation of all 'learned, scientific and technical matter' which demands accuracy in the choice and precision and in the use of words' (Savory, T,H.:1969).

For all these translations mainly two methods — literal and paraphrase are used, depending on the nature of the work. For instance, a translator who is translating a religious book, which is believed to be scared, may prefer to have a literal (word-to- word) translation and would not like to add to it nor omit anything out of it. He will select his translating unit a word rather than a phrase, sentence or a full paragraph. Whereas, a translator who is going to translate a literary piece may prefer 'paraphrase' to 'literal translation and may take certain liberties to add to it or to omit out of it. He may try to retain the sense and explain it if necessary. According to his need his unit may be a word, phrase, sentence or a paragraph.

The present writer holds the view that in the process of translation of a literary work, the primary characteristics of the translation should be that, the translated version is reader oriented. Language being the vehicle of culture, every language into which a piece of literary work is translated should take into account the socio-cultural background of the people who are likely to read it. In this process, if the translator has to take some liberties, this would only enhance the readability of a translated work. However, such liberties should not be stretched to the point of distorting the meaning, content, and form, of the original work. A translator should necessarily strike a balance between culture orientation (which enhances readability) and being true to the original. However, the success of a translator lies in how far he is able to retain the themes and ideas of the original work. While making a translation reader oriented, the translator should make clear the images, pictures and the socio- cultural background drawn in the original. The translation should look like the original, but, not at the cost of readability. The form of the language should not look unfamiliar. However, the content of the original should always be retained. For example, in a book which is to be translated, let us presume that the South Indian dress is mentioned by the author as 'dhoti'. In a translation of the same into any North Indian languages the word would not give the exact picture. Instead, the word 'lungi' would be more appropriate. The word 'lungi' will bring out the differences in the style of wearing the 'dhoti' between the South and the North India. However, if the translation is into a foreign language a footnote may be added so as to clarify the style of dress.

Insofar as the style is concerned the question to be posed is, how far a translator can reflect the style of the original? Can we disregard the immense human variation?

In the light of the above discussion, we now move on to a critical review of the Gujarati translation of the Marathi Novel 'Banagarwadi'.

Banagarwadi in brief

'Banagarwadi' is originally written by a prominent Marathi short story writer Shree Vyankatesh Madgulkar. It is based on life in rural India a village which is far away from urban societies, untouched by the explosion of the modern technological innovations and the consequent side effects. The people under

narration are very simple, traditional and very much against formal school education. Their problems are quite different from those of the city people. How a person with patience and understanding can help these villagers is shown here through the character of a school teacher. There is no hero nor villain in this novel. Still all the characters are playing important roles effectively. All the events are shown through the eyes of the school teacher.

While reviewing the translation of 'Banagarwadi' in Gujarati, I have considered only a few chapters for detailed analysis. The emphasis is primarily on the language; its form and style.

Marathi and Gujarati both belong to Into-Aryan Language Group. Hence the syntax and the vocabulary of both the languages are very similar to each other. Due to this surface similarity, a translator may feel it an easy job in 'two-fold'. The first is that a translator may feel it an easy job and is likely to make mistakes. Translator's job is 'two-fold'. The first is to translate, i.e., to communicate the exact meaning of his text. Secondly, the translator has to give his reader same impression of the author's style of narration description etc. For this he has to search for right words, phrases and structures so as to produce an equivalent effect. The translator of 'Banagarwadi' in Gujarati also have tried to do the same. But while doing so he has failed at certain places either to give correct words/phrases or structure. At times the translator has tried to give word-to-word translation which has turned out to be inappropriate in Gujarth language, some examples (serially numbered in square [ ] brackets) follow:

[1] The very first sentence of the original novel :

दशम्यांची पिशवी पाठीला मारुन मी बनगरवाडीला निघालो होतो

(p.1.L.1.M)

I was on my way to Banagarwadi with a snook-bag slung on my neck

ढेबरानी थैलो खो राखो हु बनगरवाडो जवा नोवळो पड्यो हतो (p.1.L.1.-E)

This sentence may be discussed from different points.

(1) The word 'दशमी' means thick, big, roasted chapaties prepared out of milk and wheat flour, especially for journey as it would not get spoiled soon. In Gujarati, it can be explained as "दूधनो आखरो instead the translator has used the word ढेबरा, ढेबरा are prepared out of millet or jovari soacked overnight in buttermilk. They are spicy and are fried in oil. As they do not get spoiled for a long time, they are always preferred in journey. Being aware of this cultural difference, the translator has preferred to give Gujarati word ढे बरु rather than retaining 'दशमी' or using दूधनो आखो thus he has made it Gujarati than Marathi. By this, the Marathi atmosphere or cultural item has not been reflected

(2) The phrase पाठोत्तर मारून "throwing·on the back' has some additional meaning of carefreeness alongwith readiness. The given translation in

Gujarati is 'खहेराखोने' 'keeping on the shoulder'. The word 'back' has been changed into 'shoulder' and the 'throwing' has been changed to 'keeping' which gives the additional meaning of carefulness. So the whole phrase has been changed resulting in a different annotation.

(3) In Gujarati, there are two words for stitched, cotton bags; थेलो which is bigger in the size and थेळो which is smaller in size. These bags have circular handles, and can be held in hands. Holding the handles they can also be thrown on one's back. Another kind of bag which is generally hung on the shoulder is known as वगल थेलो 'shoulder-bag' If the word थेलो is used the phrase will be 'खघे थेलो नांखी and if 'वगल थेलो' is used it will be 'खघे बगलथेलो बटकावी' but never with 'राखो' keeping'.

(4) On page no. 2, the translator has completely changed the meaning of bag by using a different phrase; 'वांसा पर लटकावलो झोळो' (p.2.L.12). झोळो means a noted-cloth-bag, which can be hung on the back. There is no similarity in meaning of 'थेलो खघे राखो' (keeping the big-bag on the shoulder) and'वासा पर लटकावेली झोळी'noted-bag hung on the back. Either the translator has used such varied sentences to give some novelty and in this process have forgotten the aim of the words used, or he is not aware of the different annotations of these words. (The English version also have totally changed the meaning--'I shifted the load to my hand in an effort to relieve my aching back' p.3.L.9-10).

(5) Gujarati translator has also changed the verb-phrase construction. In Marathi, it is 'निखालो होतो' 'had started'. In Gujarati, it should have been निकम्या होतो' but the translator has preferred more emphatic usage 'निक्ळी पडयो हतो' which can be more clearly explained in Hindi. In Hindi, it will be i) निकला था, ii) निकल पड़ा था. Marathi writer has used निघालो होतो type of constructions in this narration. Whereas, in Gujarati the translator has changed the constructions wherever he thought it fit without any reason, at the cost of uniformity of constructions.

If proves Conford's view (Furley, D.J:1958) that 'to render a word in the original by a cognate word in the new language may be badly misleading, and that to bring out the meaning of a sentence it may be necessary to recast it's syntax utterly, even when the two languages are syntactically quite similar'. This particular sentence should have been दशमीनी (दूधनी भाखरीनी) थेलो खभे नांखी हूं बनगरवाडी जवा नीक्ळयो हतो.

[2] अनवाणी पायांनी धूळ उडवू लागलों (p.2.L.26.27)
अडवा पग पर धूळ अडवा लागी (p.2.L.12.13)

The translation is quite different from the original. The original says "with bare feet he started blowing dust". It should be pointed out that Shree Madgulkar, has minutely observed and recovered each and every details of the surroundings and human behaviours. For example when the 'teacher' found that it is getting late, he shifted his bag from the back and holding it in his hand increased his pace (of walking). In villages, normally people walk with bare feet. When they walk fast, they walk without lifting their feet (very high) which create dust clouds. The same action has been narrated in this sentence अनवाणी पायांनी धूळ उडवू लागलों 'dust started flowing on (my) bare feet'. Gujarati translator has missed the meaning and have given completely different version. Where as it should be - अडवा पगे तेयो धूण उडाडवा भांडी

[3] अशो दहा-पंथरा मेंढरे मिळवून सुरवात केली जाते (P.36.L.4-6)
Collecting such ten-fifteen sheep (the business) was used to be started.

आम दस-पंदर घेढां एकठां करीने ए आदर करतो (p.33.L.2)

"Thus collecting ten-fifteen sheep he used to respect them".

[4] बघता बघता ते पंचवीस-तोस धनगर, तो ढोल्या हे सकळे एकत्र झाले (p.62.L.11-12)
"Within no time, about 25 to 30 shepherds, drumbeaters and all assembled together".

जोत जोता मां ए पचीश तोस भरवाडी अने ढोलो बधा एकमेक थई गया
"within no time, those 25 to 30 shepherds and drumbeater *all became one*".

[5] तरण्यापोरांनी हुरडयाचा खुराक शुरू केला (p.61.L.5-6)
"Young boys started eating roasted grains for nutrition'.

जु वान छो कर ाओ ओ ळानो नास्तो उडावबा लाग्या(p.56.L.20-21)
"Young boys started enjoying eating roasted grains."

[6] त्या दडप्याभुळे, उबे भुळे, बाहेर न आलेले दाणे कणसा बाहेर पडले (p.60.L.6-7)
"because of the pressing the remaining grains (which did not come out before) came out of its cones".

बहार न आवेला दाणा दबाण अने गरभीने कारणे डूंडांमां भराया
"Because of the pressure and heat the remaining grains (which did not come out) went in their cones."

As C. Rabin's views (1958), "The words are often not used in their dictionary sense at all, but in the metaphorical, enlarged, pregnant, and other off-senses which the system of oppositions and interplay of meanings within the system permits". Few examples can be quoted for proving this. At certain places the words used are less appropriate or less acceptable. The translator has at certain places even changed the idiomatic meaning while changing the style. 'Different associations of perfectly

'simple words and phrases' also create difficulties in translation. (Leonard : 1958). Few examples are cited below.

[7] The 'teacher' is half-way to his destination. It has become not and he is troubled by masses of bees. He is getting tired of the bees' buzzing noise. So he narrates त्या सतत आवाजाने वोट आला (p.3.L.22-23). Because of its' constant buzzing, I got fed up वोट आला with tiredness it has the shade of 'suffering'. The appropriate word in Gujarati is त्रासी जवु 'but the translator has used कंटाळी जवुं 'to get bored,'.

[8] पाठ लाग (p.3.L.23) means 'to follow' It is an idiomatic usage, In Gujarati it has been explained पाछळ पाछळ आवता 'constantly coming behind' (p.3.L.13). In Gujarati the idiomatic usage is वांसेलागवुं, पोछो करवो, the translator knows these usages as he has used this phrase वांसे लागवुं in the same book at different place - but somehow he has preferred to explain the idiom rather than use the idiomatic phrase.

[9] बसायला कांबळे टाकुन (p.34.L.8)
"Throwing down the blanket for sitting"

In Gujarati, the translator has changed the verb टाकून 'throwing' and used पाथरो 'spreading' which does not look appropriate. For the simple reason that पाथरवुं'to spread' includes the meaning of neatness and tidiness, whereas टाकून there is no shade of neatness and tidiness. Hence, the sentence should be बेसवा सारु कामकानां बो instead of बे सवा सारु कामळो पाथ (p.32.L.1)

[10] The teacher has lost the money given to him by a villager. He is unable to tell it to anybody. At the same time, it was impossible for him to keep quite. He was feeling as though he was sandvitched between two difficult situations. This feeling has been expressed in this following sentence-
चापात अडकयासारखो हो अवसञ्था अशोघ राहिली (p.52.L.3)
My sandvitched condition remained as the same, which is translated as
कूवामां फसाया जेवो भारो हालत थई (p.48.L.3)
'My condition became of a person (who is) trapped in a well.'
It should be दाबमां फसाया जेवो आ हालत एवो ज रहो
'My sandvitched condition remained the same'.

[11] मगा रामाने मला थोडे आत नेले (35.L.26)
Rama, the villager wanted to talk and show something to the teacher. So 'then Rama took him little inside'. The translator has used a phrase which not only changes the words but the meanings as well. He translates —
पछो रामो मने अंदर ऊँडे लई गयो (p.33.21)

'Then Rama took me inside deep'. The phrase ऊंडे लई जवु 'to take into deep' does not convey the meaning of 'took inside'. This phrase is, no doubt used in

Gujarati when a person is in a tunnel or a cave or a well. But normally there is nothing in the house, where you can say-"to take into deep". It should have been थोडे अंदर लई गयो 'took (me) little inside (the house).

While translating, the translator has to be very careful and aware about the socio-cultural background of the people about whom it is written as well as for whom it is written. Because, "any inaccuracy in this respect stands out like a wrong note in music". Tancock, L.W. (1958).

Banagarwadi is a novel of life in a village in Maharashtra which is quite 'backward'. Hence, the translator should have taken care to study the socio-cultural background of the people on whom the novel has been written. The translator at certain places has overlooked the cultural conditions of the people, under narration in this novel.

[12] The teacher has gone to visit some villager at night. Inside the house only an oil-lamp (made of mud) was lighting the room. In original it is narrated in this way -

चुलोपाशी ठेवलेल्या पणतीचा अपुरा उजेड घरात होता (p.53.L.11)

"The oil-lamp kept near the hearth was spreading dim light in the house".

The translator in Gujarati have not only changed the style, but has used a wrong word for 'oil-lamp'. He narrates, चूला पासे बळता घासतेलना होवानुं झांखुं अजवाणुं घरमां पडयुं हतुं

"The dim light of kerosene lamp burning near the hearth was spread in the house."

'kerosene-lamp' is totally out of place in this poor village. Somehow the translator has missed it and has used the wrong word.

[13] The teacher has gone to call on somebody at his house. The villager tells his son to bring a glass.

जार पोरा, पेला आन आतनं (P.67.L.11-12)

पेला Means a 'metallic glass'. In Gujarati the word is प्यालो or पवालुं for metallic tumbler' and ग्लास or गलास for 'glass'. In villages, even now the people prefer metallic drinking-glass to drinking glass made of glass. In 'Banagarwadi' obviously they might not have even seen a drinking vessel made of glass. So the word used by the translator in Gujarati —

जा छोकरा ! घरमांथी ग्लास लाव्य (p.62.L.17)

"Go, boy! Get a glass from the house"

is not appropriate. His 'city-life' has interfered with this translation.

To reproduce the effect of the original work is not always easy. Particularly the ambiguity of the words, phrases, sentences:; their multiple meaning cause often problems. The translator has to be very careful in his selection of a word, phrase or a sentence. Often it becomes an interpretation rather than a translation, The translator of Banagarwadi has tried often to translate word-toward, but sometimes he has taken the liberty to change the constructions by changing the tenses. These

changes are found only in a sentence or two when it should have been throughout the paragraph or a chapter. This sounds as a wrong note in a music. At certain places it has resulted in less acceptable or unnatural constructions. Few examples are given below.

[14] पिशवीतून आणलेली चादर काढून खाली अंथरली (p.9.L.29)

'I took out the bed-sheet I brought from the (stitched) bag and spread it (down)'

As mentioned earlier in this paper, Marathi and Gujarati, both languages are having similarities in their syntax. Above mentioned sentence could be translated.

थेलीयां आणेली चादर बहार काढी नीचे पाथरी

The translator has changed the word 'stitched-bag' into 'knitted-bag' and the word order also is changed which has changed the emphasis of the subject of the sentence. He writes -

साथे आणेली चादर झोळीमांथी बहार काढी नीचे पाथरी (p.9.L.19)

The word झोळीमांथी should come first and not the phrase साथे आणेली चादर

[15] मी जरूर ती माहिती सांगितली (p.9.L.14)

In his first meeting an old villager asks different types of questions to the teacher. The teacher "gave those necessary informations". In Gujarati, the translator has added a word (डोसाने) that also at a wrong place.

डोसाते में जरूरी माहिती आंपी (P.9.L.2)

"I gave necessary information to the oldman". Secondly the translator has dropped the word ती 'those'. So the actual sentence should have been "(डोसाने) में ते जरूरी मा हिती आपी" and not में जरूरी माहिती डोसाने आपी.

To have clear and complete meaning of the sentences, at so many places, in the Gujarati version, certain additions are needed. For example -

[16] (+ साथे) हुं मनमां (+ने) मनमां प्रश्न करी रह्यो हतो (P.1.L.9)

(+alongwith that) I was going on asking questions in my mind itself.

[17] पायजमो मेलो थतो (+जतो) हतो (P.2.L.18)

"My pyjamas were getting dirty", with addition of 'जतो', the meaning will be- 'My pyjamas were getting dirtier and dirtier'.

[18] एनी (सीटीओथी) सीओटीओथी (+मनने / मने) वधु एकलता भासवा लागी (P.3.L.2)

Because of its'(bird's) shrill voices (+I) felt more lonely

[19] क्यांक कोई कूतरो बेठो हतो, तो (+क्यांक) थोळी काळी (मुरघीओ) मरघीओ (P.4.L.8)

Strange dog was sitting somewhere; and black and white hens (somewhere). Without the addition the sentence seems incomplete. While reading the novel, it

was found that the author has a habit of omitting proper names or pronouns and thus half of the time the reader has to guess about the subject of the sentence. Perhaps this is his style. Opposite to above examples at certain places certain words should be omitted as they are not needed or they are extra in that construction.

[20] एनी भमरोपण घोळी सफेद थई गई हती (P.6.L.12)

"His eye-brows also had become white".

As this narration is in continuation of — सफेद मूछोवाळो - बुढढो -- आवी पहों च्यो "white moustached ---old man--- reached him."

The usage should have been - एनी भमरो सुध्दां तोळी / सफेद थई गई हती अथवा एनी भमरो पण सफेद पूणी जेवी थई गई हती "His eye-lashes also had become completely white."

[21] The teacher is visiting the village for the first time. He does not know anything about that village. He replies to the old man's question "why is he sitting under the tree?" that ..'' निशाळनुं मकान क्यां आव्युं ए पण हुं बराबर जाणतो नथी. Where is the school building (situated) that also I do not know properly. "The use of 'properly' is not needed. 'बरोबर' is used when you have slight idea about something but you are not sure about it. There was no question about knowing anything even slightly as this was the very first visit of the teacher in this village.

Such examples make one feel that the person who has translated knows the language very well but he is not careful about the different usages and shades of meaning of the words in different situations.

[22] दम मारवो होय एवा अवाजे एणे मने पूछ्युं (P.5.L.7.)

"He asked me in such a voice as though he wanted to cove me down".

The teacher was sitting alone under the banayan tree. A villager came and stood in front of him. He was the ruffian of that village. Starting at the teacher the villager asks him a question with anger in his voice. दममारवो means "to show off" and " to have a puff of hukah or bidi etc. " For using this word as an adjective with the noun. अवाज 'voice' the construction should be - दम मारतो / भरावतो (होय एवा) अवाजे एणे मने पूछ्युं -- and not 'in humiliating angry voice he asked me' दम भावो होय एवा अवाजे एणे मने पूछ्यु.

[23] It was the first night in the school; if the dirty disorderly place can be called a school; and the teacher was thinking about his future and the difficulties he was going to face. He was very young and with his boisterous appearance it was difficult to convince others the work he wanted to do. Counting all his difficulties he thinks. On the top this type of illiterate village ! एमा आ रीतनु गयार गाय (p.11.L.23). Which adds up to his misery, रीत means

'method, manner, way'. For 'this type of' the word in Gujarati is आ जातनुं and not आरीतनु In Gujarati, जातनुं and रीतनुं is overlapping in certain areas, where the meaning is 'of this manner'. Perhaps because of this, the translator has used रीतनुं instead of जातनुं. Few more examples of this type are listed below.

[24] चकलां अने ग्कागडा गडबडाट करी रहयां हतां (P.10.L.8)

'Sparrows and Crows were making noises.'

In Gujarati, word for birds' noises is कलबलाट and for human beings 'गडबड' but we never say 'गडबडाट'

[25] बुक मारती शाळा (P.11.L.19-20)

'Bad smelling school'

For bad smell the word in Gujarati is गंधमारती or वास मारती शाळा

[26] वद्यांवाळी घेटीओ दोडादोड आवी पहोंची (P.10.L.23)

"Mother-sheep reached (there) running".

In Gujarati, the adverbial form is ' दोडती' running' and not दोडादोड. The meaning of दोडादोड is quite different. It means 'to run helter-skelter'.

[27] The sentence 'हे गुडघ्या एवढे पोर मास्तर कसे असेल ?' (P.6.L.9) narrates the physical appearance of the teacher with a doubt that "How a man can be a teacher who is so short (like a dwarf)". For 'too short' the expression in Marathi is गुडघ्या एवढे 'short up to the knee'. Whereas in Gujarati, it is अंगूठा जेवडुं "small/short as toe". The translator has tried word-to-word translation which has been resulted into such an unfamiliar usage. 'घूंरण जेवडो'

[28] चांदण्या चमकत होत्या (P.1.L.4.)

तारावो चळकता हवा (P.1.L.2.)

'Stars were shining' with stars the word चमकता is more appropriate. The word चळकवुं means 'glittering' which is normally used with liquids.

While reading the translation, we come across certain examples which are coined by the translator or has given word-to-word translation or is not written the way it should have been written. Few examples follow.

[29] रातीकडेकिरकिरत होते (P.1.L.12)

तमरां तमतमतां हतां (P.1.L.6.)

'Crickets were singing' with cricket the verb used is बोलतां हतां and not तमतमतां हतां. तमत मतुं means 'very hot (in taste)' and normally is used

with red chillies. मरच्युं तीखुं.तमतमतुं छे 'The chillies are very very hot' It seems the translator has thought of his own new word which is used for 'very hot' in Gujarati.

[30] एक तरहनी लय (p.1.L.7.) 'a type of rhythm' and लहरीवो(p.1.L.14) 'waves'. The underline words are Hindi words. The Gujarati words are जातनी and लहेरीओ respectively.

[31] तांबडा पिवळा सूर्य (p.2.L.11) 'Red-yellow Sun' .....The translation is लाल पिळो सूरज ! The usage is not wrong but केसरीयो सूरज 'Saffron-coloured sun' is much familiar to Gujarati speakers. Because of word-to-word translation, this factor has been ignored.

[32] केटलां एक	'few'	(p.3.L.24.)
थोडुं एक	'little	(p.4.L.10)

Both are compound forms. While suffixing एक the adjective root shows morphophonemic changes. This is true for most of the Indo-Aryan languages. The fact is ignored here. The forms should be -

केटलांक	and not	केटलांएक
थोडांक	and not	थोडुंएक

Every writer has his own style of writing. In the same way every translator also has his or her own style, but he/she has to forget about himself/herself and try to be faithful to the writer of the original work while doing translation. In reality, it happens that half of the times the translator follows either his own or original writers' style and half of the times he forgets about that and changes the style. In 'Banagarwadi', very often, we come across such instances. Few examples are given below:

[33] In chapter 1, the constructions are in continuous past tense. After two passages in third passage suddenly, simple past tense construction is used.
ताराओनुं अजवाळुं झाखुं थयुं (p.1.L.12-13)

Whereas it should have been - ताराओनुं अजवाळुं झाखुं थयुं हतुं

After two lines again the same type of change can be seen.
आवळ बावळनां झांखरानी जाणीती वासनो अनुभव थवा लाग्यो
(p.1.L.14)

From this line onwords the constructions are different. Sometimes, they are in simple past or past perfect. In other words, first two passages have Verb (v)+ Auxiliary(Aux.) construction where aux.-verb is 'to be' verb. Later on the construction is of main verb+main Verb (as aux.V.) From page No. 2 simple, continuous and perfect-types of constructions are used. All these sentences, more or less, are grammatically correct. But if we think from the point of view of style,

it breaks the link and now and then you feel - interception of asthetic relish known as रसहानी in Hindi.

This changes are not only in tenses, but also in the order of words, and phrases. At times the translator prefers predicative sentences and suddenly he shifts his focus to attributive sentences. This irregularity does not allow to create a constant interest and concentration in the readers.

In the original Marathi version, there are certain statements which do not seem to be accurate. The translator of Gujarati version has tried to correct some of them at certain places; but has not done so in some other cases. For example :

[34] The teacher has reached the village. The writer is describing, narrating his first impression alongwith the surroundings. The teacher finds - बऱ्याच घरांच्या कवाडांना कुलुपे होती. (p.4.L.8-9)
मोटा भागनां घरोने बारणे वाळां वासेलां हतां (p.4.L.5-6)

'Most of the houses' doors were locked (with locks)'. It raises the doubt in the readers' mind that a village which is so backward and simple would use locks for locking their doors. Dhangars, about whom the novel is written, are nomadic tribal group who are unlikely to be locking their doors, Hence, the sentence should be 'the doors of the houses were latched' and not locked. The translator also has missed the idea and has given word-to-word translation.

[35] बैल घोडा जसा बसल्याबसल्या झोप घेतो (p.34.L.26-27)

'As ox, and horse sleep while sitting (in sitting position)'. The fact is that horses never sit. Normally the horses sleep in standing position only. This basic fact has been ignored which the Gujarati translator has taken note of and instead of 'horse' he has used the word 'ढोर'cattle' and made the statement more convincing and accurate.

[36] तुम्ही आणलेलं भाकरीचं गठुंळ नियंच दिसले, घमाघम वास येऊ लागला. (p.57.L.1-2)

Ananda is narrating an incident to the teacher, about the incident when he has come to ask for food and not money, He says, when I came to your (teacher's) room you were sleeping. But 'I saw the snack-bag which you had brought, and its cooked-smell was very tempting. 'As Marathi speakers explained, the भाकरी has its own smell, but it cannot be called as घमाघम. The meaning of घमाघम is the cooked or cooking smell which makes your mouth watery. Normally, spicy and fried smell is called as घमाघम but not of भाकरी. In Gujarati, the translator has changed the word भाकरी to ढेबरां which are fried and are spicy too. It's smell will be घमाघम and the translator has used the word ललचावती सोडम 'tempting, cooked smell'.

The novel 'Banagarwadi' gives us picture of a village occupied by Dhangars. The author provides through this novel a very vivid and colourful description of

the village and its social life. He has used appropriate adjectives, similies, phrases and sentences to achieve this objective. These phrases and sentences are linked, that none of them can really be dropped or altered. Even though Gujarati translator of 'Banagarwadi' has attempted a word- to-word translation; he has omitted or missed certain significant words and sentences. Thus the translation has failed in reproducing, the original idea behind, narrating a particular incident or event. In short the poetic charm of the original has been lost at certain places. For example,

[37] In the following sentence, the author is emphasizing on the similarity of colours.

घनगरांची काळी अंगे काळया घोंगडीतून निघेनात (p.60.L.21-22).

'Shepherds' black bodies were not coming out of black blankets'.

In Gujarati, translation adjective of body has been dropped out. Hence, the similarity and the concept of blackness of body and blanket has not been reproduced.

Few more examples are cited below.

[38] सुरेख पिवळी फुले (p.60.L.27)

'Complete in itself, yellow flowers ....'The adjective 'yellow' has been dropped out in Gujarati translation.

[39] In city life you have to pay, even for grass, you cannot get anything without paying for it. But in 'Banagarwadi' it is not so. A newcomer need not buy sheep for sheep breeding. How can approach any one of the sheep owners and offer him a coconut, half smeared with turmeric and tell about his wish. And in return he will get a best animal, free of cost. To emphasize, 'free of cost' the author says, "ते मागणाराला मोफत देतो". The main word is मोफत 'free of cost' which has been omitted in Gujarati translation.

[40] Not only words, but also sentences are omitted in the translation leading to unconnected passages and sentences. p.60.L.11-12

ज्याला नड होती त्याने योडणी करुन कणसे बडवली. घारची जनावरे कुरकुरीतसरयाड खाऊ लागली.

These lines have been completely omitted. Hence, while reading the narration in Gujarati one feels as though something is missing.

In any type of translation the translator has to face different types of difficulties. One of them is with regard to names as they resist translation. Leonard (1958) says: "Names are linguistic element like any other, and the author is entitled to use them as they are for their associative value and there by their evocative value is lost'.

In Gujarati, 'Banagarwadi' the translator has retained all the names as they are; Anando, Rama, Anji and so one. In Marathi, vadi means a small settlement, whereas, in Gujarati, vadi means an 'orchard' or 'a place where facilities for marriage ceremoies, including boarding are available on fixed charges'. Normally, these vadies are named after the owners or the trustees. For example, Ranghakakani vadi, patelni vadi, etc. The title 'Bangarwadi' would create a wrong idea to Gujarati

speakers. To make it more familiar either the name should have been changed or some additional explanation offered. In Gujarati, shepherds' settlement is known as नेस /नेसडो . So the title could have been भरवाडोनो नोसडो, : वनगरवाडी

Conclusion

The brief review of the translation of Bangarvadi into Gujarati shows that the translator has introduced many changes in constructions, word-orders, usages and style. But comparatively grammatical mistakes are very few, and those found, are not of much importance. This shows that the translator knows the language very well. If he knows the language so well, then how is it that so many inaccuracies and inappropriate usages are found in this translation?

1) Is it that the translator found it difficult to translate a novel written in colloquial into another language, that also in standard form?
2) Is it because of word-to-word translation?
3) Is it the syntactic similarity between Marathi and Gujarati which lead him to make many mistakes?
4) Is it that it was difficult to retain any one style; his own or the original author's?
5) Is it because he was not aware of the importance of uniformity in constructions where style is concerned?
6) Is it that he does not know where to use what and when?
7) Is it that being a professional translator he is not bothered about such necessities?

In case of the Gujarati translation of Banagarwadi, the answers to most of these questions seem to be in affirmative.

The discussion and the example cited in this paper makes it very clear that the translator has committed various errors. The translator certainly knows the Gujarati language as far as understanding and writing is concerned but it is very doubtful whether he knows about the language in which he has translated the work.

It is known by more or less all, that 'a linguistic fact in isolation can be described in physical terms only (sound, form and order); it is only through its opposition to other terms within the same system that it gains 'value', 'function', 'meaning', and can be described in linguistic terms (phonemes-meaningful sounds, morphemes-meaningful words. A linguist knows how instead of opposition, to use context for defining the function or meaning of a linguistic fact. "The study of oppositions and contexts leads to an insight into the structure of the semantic field, phonological, morphological, or syntactical system in which the translators are interested, and in which the individual facts 'exist' by reason of their structural explacement." (Leonard : 1958).

Most important thing about a linguist is that he knows how a particular language functions. He can help a translator to know the differences in the systems of both the languages in question. He can throw light on stylistics and structure.

As the individual words, word-parts, and word-groups, the sentence has also numerous semantic features, such as negation, interrogation, emphatic etc. The sentences also belong to a type of discourse or style; colloquial, factual, official, solemn, precious, poetical, etc. Which vary from language to language. These are the major causes which create difficulty to the translator (Robin,C:1958). And these are the some areas where a linguist can be of real help to the translator.

For instance, both Marathi and Gujarati languages belong to Indo-Aryan language group. They are syntactically very near to each other. The vocabulary also seems to be very similar. But the stylistic constructions, the word order, phrases, usages and verbal-adjectivelly construction show, many a times, partial similarity or total differences. This is perhaps the major reason to find less grammatical mistakes, but more inappropriate or less acceptable usages in this Gujarati translation. To avoid such types of errors, a linguist can help the translator by making him aware of such difficult areas and furnish him with the knowledge about the languages. And naturally, the translation done with the help of a linguist will be with less mistakes where form and style is concerned.

Appendix -1

As we saw, the frequency of errors, or use of less acceptable words/phrases in individual instances do not give the translation any credit. It is very near to the original in so far as the contents are concerned.

The translator has understood the original work very well and has tried to be very faithful to the author of the original work. It is not that he does not know Gujarati language, but he seems to be less aware about Gujarati language. To prove this an experiment was conducted. Four Marathi speakers were asked to translate a Gujarati passage back into Marathi. These persons had not read Marathi 'Banagarvadi'.They have all tried to translate the passage with their own norms about translation. Though they could not translate in the exact style of Shree Madgulkar, they were able to reproduce the content part very well. One or two speakers used colloquial forms at certain places, (which are given in brackets) but on the whole, they did translation in standard Marathi, of course varying in style and word form. This experiment shows that;

i) all the translators do try to be faithful to the original work, which they are going to translate in some other language,
ii) all have their own style of narrating the incidents
iii) all differ in sentence patterns (attributive, predicative etc.) that they use,
iv) all do not have the same knowledge about their own languages,
v) all are not aware of uniformity in usages and do mix up standard colloquial language.

It proves that to do a translation is not an easy job. The translator's job is very delicate. He should understand the language that he is going to work with, he should know about the socio-cultural background of the people about whom it is written

and about those for whom it is written. Not only that, he needs orientation in the form of the languages, too. If form and content both are understood, the translator can achieve his goal of reproducing the effect of the original work.

Now one day Karbhari's daughter, who was very black in colour, came to me making noise (rhythmic flapping) of her clothes. I was alone in my room. From the out side, she peeped inside. Once, twice, thrice she saw, covering her mouth by loose end of her sari, she stood outside only.(she did not come in).

"Who is there"? I asked.

"It's me - Anji".

"Karbhari's Anji?"

"Yes (of course)".

"What is it? Do come in."

Blushing all the while, she entered, she had worn a dark-red handloom sari and a green choli. I used to come across the girl now and then in the village or at the Karbhari's house, but I didn't know that she had blossomed into an attractive young woman. She had only completed fourteen (years) and the fifteenth was running, but she had grown so much that she looked as though she was of twenty. (She could have easily passed for a young woman of twenty).

Anji straightened her sari. She wriggled and said, " Now when would you be going to town ...?"

The week was ending. The following day was Saturday. For no other reason but to do something about Rama's money, I had to go to the town.

"I will go to-morrow morning, why?"

"Will you do something for me?"

On Saturdays, I had to run a thousand errands. Getting a bottle of medicine for someone, changing money for another, sending somebody's money orders or writing letters for somebody.

"Yes, why not! I shall do it if I can."

Anji said," get my choli (blouse) stitched (from there)?" And before I could recover from the novelty of her request, she had placed before me a brand new blouse-piece of attractive material and her old choli for size.

"I am doing this on the sly-see. Don't tell the oldman? (It's my money) I have been working for it, when I had saved enough I brought the blouse-piece. It was two months ago - and have been unable to get it stitched, so far. I shall pay for the tailoring afterwards, when you bring the choli." Before I could say either 'Yes' or 'no', Anji was gone, leaving the garment and the blouse - piece behind.

Translation - 1

दरमियान एक दहाड़े पटेलनो वाळोमेश जेवो पोतरो साडलो फफडावतो मारे घे आवो, ओरडामां हुं त्यारे एकलो ज हतो एणे वारणे डोकीने जोयुं; एक वार, वे वार, त्रण वार डोकाई लोघुं अने पछो साडलानो छेडो मों आडे राखो अ बहार ज हतों रहो.

में पुछ्यु : "कोण छे ?"

"हुं, अंजो."

"पटेलनो अंजो?"

"हा"

"शुं काय छे ? अंदर आव"

अंजो शरभातों शरभातों अंदर आवो. अणे हाथशाल पर वणेलो लालचटक साडलो ओठयो हतो ; लोलाकापडनो चोळो पहेरो हतो. गालमां अने पटेलने घेर कोई कोईवार हुं आ छोरकेने जोतो, पण ए ध्यान खेंचे अटलो जुवान छे ऐवो ख्याल मने आव्यो न होतो. चौद पूरां थईने अने हमणां ज पंदरमुं वेठुं हतुं.पण एनुं काठुं एवुं मोटुं हतुं के अ वोश वरसनो होय एवुं लागतुं हतुं.

अंजोए अमस्तो ज छेडो सरखों क्यों अने आँखो सहेज लटको करो बोलो: "मास्त ! हवे तालुके क्यारे जवुं छे ?"

अठवाडियुं पूरुं थवा आव्युं हतुं ; वोजे दिवसे शनिवार हतो, वोजा कोई कामे नहि तो पण समाना पैसा माटे मारे विश्रूतवाडो जवुं आवश्यक हतुं .

"काले सवारे जवानो छुं:, केम ?"

"(समारुं) मारुं एक काम करशो ?"

शनिवारे अनेक जणानां कामो करवानां मां आवतां हतां, कोईनो दवा लाववातानो होय, कोईनो नोट वटाववो होय, कोईनो मनिआर्डर करवानो होय, कोईने कागळ लखो आपवानो होय.

"कहे, करवा जेवुं हशे तो करोश."

अंजो बोलो : "जरा आ मारो चोळो सिवडावो लावजो," अने हुं सहेज सूंझाइने अनो सामे जोया करतो हतो त्यां तो एछो आपने माटे श्रणो फेंव यो, बोलो : "चोरो थूपीथो सिवडावुं थं : डोसाने वात नकरशोर मजूरो करीने में पैसा लेगा कर्या छे ने आ खंड बरोथो छे. वे महिना थं गया प सिवडाववानो मोळो नक्यो नहोतो. सिवडावोने लेता आवशो तो सिलाईना पैसा हुं आपोश."

अने हुं हा ना कहुं ते पहेलां ज हापश अने नापनी जूनी चोळी त्यां ज रहेवा दई अंजी चाली गई । गूनी चोळी अने (क कीमती) किमती कापडनो टुकडो मारा । दरम्यान एके दिवशी कारभा-याची काळीशार नात लुगडे फडफडक वाजवीत माझ्याकडे आली. चोलीत

मी एकटात होतो : दारातून तिने डोकावून पाहिले. एकदा, दोनदा, तीनदा पाहिले, आणि तोंडाला पदर लावून ती बाहेरच उभी राहिली.मी म्हणालो;

"कोण आहे ?"

"मी - अंजी."

"कारभा-याची अंजी काय?"

"व्हय की."

"काय काय आहे ? आत ये की."

अंजी लाजतलाजत आली. तिच्या अंगावर तांबडेभडक असे हातमागाचे लुगडे होते. हिरव्या खणाची चोळी होती. गावात आणि कारभा-याच्या घरी या पोरीला मी अधूनमधून बघत होतो, पण ती अशी लक्ष वेचून घेण्याइतपत नवी तरणी आहे, याची जाणीव मला झाली नव्हती. चौदावे संपून तिला आता पंधरावे वर्ष लागले होते, तरी ती विसाच्या दरम्यान आहे असे तिचा उफाडा बघून वाटे.

अंजीने उगीच पदर सावरला. ती मुड मुड मुडली. आणि म्हणाली, "तालुक्याला कधी जायचं आता मास्तर ?"

आठवडा संपत आला होता. उद्या शनिवार होता आणि इतर कशासाठी नाही पण रामाच्या पैशासाठी तरी गावी जाणे मला भाग होते.

"जाणार उद्या सकाळी. का ?"

"आमचं काम कराल का एक ?"

शनिवारी अनेक लोकांची कामे माझ्यापाशी असत. कुणाचे औषध आणायचे असे, कुणाची नोट मोडून आणायची असे, कुणाची मनिआर्डर करायची असे, कुणाचे पत्र लिहायचे असे.

"सांग की. करण्यासारखं असेलतरकरीन."

अंजी म्हणाली,

"माजी एवडी चोळी शिवून आना."

आणि मी गोंधळून बघत असतांनाच तिने मापासाठी जुनी चोळी आणि एक झकास खण माझ्यापुढे टाकला .

"चोरून करतीया बगा, म्हाता-याला सांगू नका आमच्या. रोजगार करुन मी पैसे साटवलं आन् खन घेतला. दोन महिनं झालं, अजून शिवणंच झालं म्हाई. शिवून आना म्हंजे मी पैसं दीन शिवनावळीचं."

आणि हो ना म्हणायच्या आतच तो खण आणि ती चोळी तिथे टाकून अंजी निघून गेली.

दरम्यान एके दिवशी पाटलाची काळीकुट्ट नात (आपली) साडी फडफडावीत माझ्या घरी आली.त्यावेळी खोलीत मी एकटाच होतो. तिनं दरवाज्यातून डोकावून पाहिलं. एकदा,

दोनदा, (नव्हेतर)तीनदा डोकावून पाहिलं आणि त्यानंतर साडीचा पदर तोंडावर धरून ती (तशीच) बाहेरच उभी राहिली.

"कोण आहे ... ?" मीह विचारले.

"मी, अंजी."

"पाटलांची अंजी ?"

"हं"

"काय काम होतं ...? आत तर ये"

लाजत - लाजत अंजी आत आली. हातमागावर विणलेली लालभडक साडी ती नेसली होती. (आणि) हिरव्या कापडाची चोळी तिने घातली होती. गावात आणि पाटलांच्या घरी काही वेळा मी या मुलीला पहायचो. पण लक्ष वेधून घेण्याइतपत ही तरूण असेल याचा मी विचारच केला नव्हता. चौदाव पुरं होऊन तिला नुकतंच पंधरावं लागलं होतं. पण तिची अंगकाठीच अशी होती की ती वीस वर्षांची दिसायची .

अंजीने उगाचच (पदर सारखा केल्यासारखं केलं (पदराशी चाळा केला) (पदराशी चाळवाचाळव केली) डोकं हालवीत नखरा दाखवीत म्हणाली --

"मास्तर आता तालुक्याला केव्हा जाणार ?"

आठवडा पुरा व्हायला आला होता. दुसऱ्या दिवशी शनिवार होता. दुसरं काही काम नसलं तरी रामाच्या पैश्यांसाठी मला विभूतवाडीत जाणं आवश्यक होतं .

"उद्या सकाळी जाणार आहे. पण का ?"

"आमचं एक काम कराल ?"

शनिवारी अनेक जणांची कामं माझ्याकडं यायची. कोणाचं औषध आणायचं, कोणाची नोट वटवायची, कोणाची मनिआर्डर करायची, कोणाला पत्र लिहून द्यायचं.

"सांग. करण्यासारख असलं तकरीन."

"जरा माझी ही चोळी शिवून आणा" अंजी म्हणाली.

आणि अचानक मी गोंधळून जाऊन तिच्यासमोर पहात होतो इतक्यात तिनं मापासाठी जुनी चोळी आणि एक किंमती कापडाचा तुकडा माझ्याकडे फेकला व म्हणाली-

"गुपचुप शिवते आहे हं. म्हाता-याजवळ ही गोष्टज काढू नका. मजूरी करून मी पैसे साठवले आणि हा खण विकत घेतलाय. दोन महिने झाले पण शिवण्याची संधाच मिळाली नव्हती. शिवून आणाल तर शिलाईचे पैसे मी देईन."

आणि मी होय नाही म्हणणार त्या आधीच कापड आणि मापाची जुनी चोळी तिथंच ठेवून अंजी निघूनही गेली.

खान अल्ताफ हुसैन

Translation - 2

एवढयात एके दिवशी पाटलाची काळी-सावळी नात साडीला झोकदार हेलकावे देत माझ्या घरी आळी. त्यावेळी मी खोलीत एकटाच होतो. तिने खिडकीतून डोकावून पाहिले ; एकदा-दोनदाच पाहिले नाही तर सारखे तीन वेळा डोकावून पाहिले आणि नंतर साडीच्या पदराआड तोंड लपवून ती बाहेरच उभी राहिली.

मी विचारले: "कोण आहे ?"

"मी, अंजी"

"पाटलांची अंजी ?"

"हो."

"आत ये, काय काम आहे."

अंजी लाजत लाजत आत आली. हातमागावर विणलेली लालभडक साडी ती नेसली होती. आणि हिरव्या रंगाची चोळी घातली होती. गावात पाटलाच्या घरी काही काही वेळा हया मुलीला मी पहात असे. पण ही एवढी आकर्षक आणि वयात ही आलेली असेल असा विचार मात्र मनात आलेला नव्हता. आतांशी कुठे चौदा पूर्ण होऊन हिला पंधरावे लागलेले होते. पण हिचे शरीर एवढे भरदार होते कीं जणुं काही वीस वर्षांचीच आहे असे वाटत होते.

अंजीने उगाचच पदर सारखा केला आणि मुरडत डोके हालवतीत म्हणाली :

"मास्तर.' आता गावात केव्हा जायचे आहे ?"

आठवडा पूर्ण होत आला होता. दुसऱ्या दिवशी शनिवार होता. दुसऱ्या कसल्या कामासाठी नाही, तरी पण रामाच्या पैशासाठी मात्र जाणे आवश्यक होते.

"उद्या सकाळी जाणार आहे. का ?"

"आमचे एक काम कराल ?"

शनिवारी कित्येक जणांची कामे करण्यासाठी माझ्याकडे येत होती. कोणाची औषधे आणण्याची, कोणाचे पैसे आणण्याचे, कोणाची मनीऑर्डर करण्याची तर कोणाचे पत्र लिहून देण्याचे.

"सांग, होण्यासारखे असेल तर करीन."

"अंजी म्हणाली : "जरा ही माझी चोळी शिवून आणा."

आणि मी गोंधळुन तिच्याकडे पहात होतो, इतक्यात तिने मापासाठी आण लेली जुनी चोळी आणि भारी कापडाचा तुकडा माझ्याकडे पहात फेकला आणि म्हणाली :- "चोरून मारून शिवत आहे. म्हाता-याला बोलू नका. मजुरी करुन मी पैसे जमविले आणि हा कपडा खरेदी केला. दोन महिने झाले पण शिवण्यासाठी मुहूर्त मिळाला नव्हता. जर शिवून घेऊन येत असाल तर शिलाईचे पैसे मी देईन."

आणि मी होय नाही म्हणण्याच्या अगोदरच कापड व मापासाठी आणलेली जुनी चोळी तेथेच ठेवून अंजी निघून गेली.

कु बल अरुण

Transaltion - 3

मध्यतरी एक दिवशी पाटलाची काळी कळकळीत मलगी साडी फडफडवीत माझ्या घरी आली. तेव्हा खोलीत मी एकटाच होतो. तिने दारातून डोकावून पाहिलं. एकदा, दुस-यादां तिस-यांदाही डोकावली. नंतर साडीच्या पदरामागे तोंड लपवत ती बाहेरच उभी राहीली.

मी विचारलं "कोण आहे ?"

"मी, अंजु"

"पाटलाची अंजु ?"

"हा"

"काय काम आहे ? आत ये."

अंजु लाजत आत आली . तिने हातमागावर विणलेल लाल चुटूक पातळ नेसलेलं होतं हिरव्या रंगाची चोळी घातली होती. गावात आणि पाटलाच्या घरी काही काही वेळेस मी या मुलीला पाहत असे, पण ती लक्ष वेधण्यासारखी तरुणी आहे असं मला वाटलं नव्हतं. चौदावं सरुन नुकतच तिला पंधाराव लागलं होते. परंतु तिचा बांधा असा मोठा की. ती विशीतली वाटावी .

अंजून उगाचच पदर सारखा केला, आणि डोक्याचा सहज चाळा करुन म्हणाली :

"मास्तर, ' आता तालुक्याला कधी जायचंय ?"

आठवडा संपत आला होता . दुस-या दिवशी शनिवार होता. दुसरं काही काम नसलं तरी रामाच्या पैशांसाठी मला विभुतिवाडीला जाणं आवश्यक होतं .

"उद्या सकाळी जायचय, का ?"

"आमचं एक काम कराल ?"

शनिवार अनेकांची काम करायची मला निमंत्रण असत. कुणांच औषध आणायचं असे. कुणाची नोट मोडायची असे, कुणाची मनिऑर्डर करायची असे. कुणाला पत्र लिहून पाठवायचं असे.

"सांग, करण्यासारख असलंतकरीन"

अंजु म्हणाली "जरा माझी ही चोळी शिवून आणा."

आणि मी सहज लाजून तिच्याकडं पाहत होतो तोच तिनं मापासाठी एक जुनी चोळी आणि किमती कापडाचा एक तुकडा माझ्या समोर टाकला आणि बोलली :

"चोरून लपून शिवतीच .' म्हाता-याला सांगू नका. मजुरी करुन मी पैसं जमा केलं अनै हा कापडाचा तुकडा आणलाय. दोन महिनं झाल्याती पण शिवायचा मौका मिळाला न्हाई. शिवून आणाल तर शिलाईचं पैसं देवून टाकीन."

आणि मी हो नाही सांगण्यापूर्वीच कापड आणि मापाची जूनी चोळी तिथंच ठेवून अंजू निघून गेली.

"बनगर वाडी" वरुन, जाधव डब्ल्यू . बी.

Translation - 4

दरम्यान एक दिवस पाट लाची काळीकुट्ट अशी नात साडी फडफडावित माझ्या घरी आली. त्यावेळी खोलीत मी एकटाच होतो . तिने दरवाज्यातून डोकावूत पाहिले - एक वेळेस - दोन वेळेस नव्हे तीन वेळेस आणि नंतर साडीचा पदर तोंडावर धरुन ती बाहेरच उभीराहिली.

मी विचारलं, "कोण आहे?"

"मी, अंजी."

"पाटलाची अंजी ?"

"हूं"

"आत ये ना, काय काम आहे ?"

अंजी लाजत लाजत आत आली. तीनं हातमागावरील लालभडक साडी नेसली होती, आणि तिने हिरव्या कापडाची चोळी घातली होती. कधी कधी गावात व पाटलाच्या घरी मी या पोरीला पहात होतो, पण लक्ष वेधून घेण्याइतकी ती तरुण असेल हे माझ्या लक्षात कधीही आली नाही. आताच चौदाव वर्ष संपून पंधराव्या वर्षात तिने पदार्पण केलं होत. परंतु तीचा बांधा वाजवी पेक्षा मोठा दिसत होता - अस वाटतं होत कीं, तिला वीस वर्ष पूर्ण झाली आहेत.

अंजीने उगीचच पदर सावरला व डोकं मुरडून ती बोलली : "मास्तर.' आता तालुक्याला केव्हा जाणार आहात ?"

आठवडा संपत आला होता; आणि दुसऱ्या दिवशी शनिवार होता - मला विभूतवाडीला जाणे आवश्यक होते.

"उद्या सकाळी जाणार आहे, का ?"

" (माझं) आमचं एक काम कसल ?"

शनिवारी मला अनेक लोकांची काम करावी लागत होती - कोणाचं औषध, कोणाचा चेक वटवणं कोणाची मनिऑर्डर करणे कोणाचं पत्र पोहोचतं करणे.

"बो ल, क ण्यासा ख असे ल त र" क िन

"जरा माझी चोळी शिवून आणा" अंजी म्हणाली.

मी विचारात पडलो आणि तिच्याकडे पाहू लागलो,

पण तिने तर चोळीच्या मापाकरिता एक जूनी चोळी व एक किमती कापडाचा तुकडा माझ्या समोर फेकला आणि म्हाता-याला सांगू नका हं. "चोरीने शिवीत आहे, असं. ती म्हणाली. मजूरी करुन पैसा जमा केला व हा खण खरेदी केळा. दोन महिने झाले पण शिवण्याची संधी मिलालीच नाही. घेवून आल तर शिलाईचे पैसे पण देईन."

आणि माझ्या होकाराची अथवा नकाराची वाट न पहाता खण व जुनी चोळी तिथेच ठेवून अंजी गेली.

से ब ओ. बी.

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Semiotic Analysis of a Kannada Poem

Kikkeri Narayan

Tenkanagaaḷiyaaṭa

1. baralide! ahaha! duuradi baralide!
2. busuguṭṭuva paataaḷada haavoo?
3. hasivina bhuutavu kuuyuva kuuvoo?
4. hosatidu kaalana kooṇana - oohoo
5. usurina suyyoo? suusuukarisuta
6. baruvudu! bara bara! baradali baruvudu ......

7. bobbeya habbisi ondee baarige
8. ubbara ebbisi kaḍalina niirige
9. bobbuḷi tereyanu daḍakke hommisi
10. abbaradali bhoor bhoorane gummisi
11. barutiḍe ! may toorade barutide! ade ....

12. naḍu muriyuta naga naavege kuuvege
13. uḍisida haayiya hariyuta, biriyuta
14. haḍaganu kiilisi, tumuranu teelisi
15. daḍadali jhaaḍisi, dooṇiyanaaḍisi
16. ide ! ide ! barutide ! ide ! ide ! barutide !

17. hakkiya kaṇṇige dhuuḷina kaaḍige
18. ikkuta holadettige dana kaaḍige
19. phakkane haṭṭige aṭṭisi, kaaḍige
20. sikkida kiccanu uudalu haaruta
21. barutide! ide! ide! ide! barutide

22. saḍalisi maḍadiyaruḍiyanu muḍiyanu
23. baḍa mudukara koḍegari haridaaḍisi
24. huḍugara tale tale ṭoppiya aaṭava
25. daḍabaḍanaaḍisi, mane mane tooṭava
26. aḍimeelaagisi, tenganu laagisi
27. aḍakeya bhaagisi, pane ibbaagisi
28. buḍatuutaadisi, tale taaṭaadisi
29. guḍisalu maaḍanu hulu hulu maaḍisi
30 bantai! bantai! ide! ide! bantai!

31. giḍagiḍa-dim-calu goncalu mincalu
32. miḍiyanu haṇṇanu uḍurisi, kedarisi
33. eḍadali baladali keladali neladali
34. paḍuvaṇa mooḍava beṭṭake ghaṭṭake

35. hoḍedaṭṭuta kool mincanu mirugisi
36. guḍuganu guḍugisi, nelavanu naḍugisi
37. siḍilanu taaḷege baaḷege eragisi
38. jaḍimaḷe surivol, birumaḷe baruvol
39. kuḍiniiranu oṇagida nela karevol
40. bantai biisuta biisuta bantai
41. tenkana gaaḷiyu konkaṇa siimege
42. bantai! bantai! bantai! bantai!

Panje Mangesh Rao (1915)

The Play of the South Wind

(line to line translation)

1. It Comes! oh! from far off! it comes
2. Hissing cobra from abyss
3. Is it the noise of demolishing hungry devil
4. Is it the moaning buffalo of kaala, a new one
5. is it the breathing sigh? with ‘su su‘ noise
6. It comes! the buzzing breeze! buzzing it comes!

7. Raising the noise all of a sudden!
8. Making the sea water heave
9. Dashing the foamy waves to the shore
10. Whooping and whooping and roaring
11. It is coming! unseen! it is coming!

12. Breaking the mast of the vessels and boats
13. Tearing and bursting and wrapped mat of the sails
14. Shattering the ships, scattering the parts
15. Kicking them to the shore, playing with the boats
16. It is! It is! Coming! It is! It is! Coming.

17. Applying the eyetex of the dust to the eyes of the birds
18. Laying the blows upon the bulls
19. Driving the cattles to their sheds
20. Setting fire to the trees in the woods
21. Coming! It is! It is! It is! It is! Coming!

22. Loosening the sarees and hair knots of the women
23. Tearing off the palmyra-umbrellas of the poor old folks
24. Hastening the boys to wind up the game
25. Uprooting the trees of the garden
26. Emitting the roots of coconut trees,
27. Bending the area trees, splitting palmyra trees
28. Tossing their heads, Raising the straws
29. of the huts to the sky
30. Hey! it comes! Hey! it comes! Hey! it comes.

31. Scattering and befalling the beautiful branches
32. With riped and unriped fruits
33. To the left, to the right, and all around
34. Chasing and driving the western clouds to the hills and ghats
35. Flashing the lightening
36. Thundering the thunderbolts, shaking the earth
37. Lightening striking the palmyra and banana trees
38. Pouring heavy rain fall; pounding on the earth
39. Causing the thirsty lake to suck the water
40. Oh! it comes blowing, blowing it comes
41. South wind to the ghats and states
42. Oh! it has come! oh! it has come! oh! it has come! oh! it has come.

Analysis

It is a well known truism, that any artist who selects his medium for an artistic creativity, perforce to function within the capacity of the chosen medium either verbal, nonverbal or both. The success or failure of the artistic creativity depends on how he exploits the different components of his medium towards the aesthetic function and artistic creation.

The present Kannada poem, 'Tenkanagaaliyaata' (The play of the South wind) chosen for analysis, is a poem written by Panje Mangesh Rao (1874-1937) in 1915. This was the era of modern Kannada literature, where writers were in search of new form and content in different literary genres. Panje, being one of the pioneers prepared ground for modern Kannada literature, experimented on different linguistic and poetic components like rhythm, prosody, meter, images and content and determined to use day-to-day language.

'The play of the South wind', is a poem which describes the nature of the south wind which brings monsoon from Arabian Sea and which has its effect on things. The poem attempts to picturize the phenomena of the wind within the realm of verbal manifestation to bring a synaesthetic effect to 'to touch' is 'to see'.

The metrical pattern

The meter used in this poem is 'mandaanila ragale', which was in vogue during the 12th and 13th century Kannada. The meter was employed to express ananda (happiness), kautaka (curiosity), and vira (valour). This has the 4+4+4+4 matra (syllabic) pattern. This pattern has the quality of hastening the reading of the poem. Originally this meter was used to construct poetry in couplet. This matra system should always have 2 'laghus' (short syllable) either in the beginning or at the end of the word, but the 'guru' (long syllable) cannot either follow or precede the short ones. The violation of this pattern was condemned by the critics.

The poet uses the Mandanila Rangale metrical pattern to suggest the fast blowing of the southern wind, and to do this he has violated the norm of the syllabic

pattern and converted 4+4+4+4 pattern into 6+2+4+4, as in line 2. or 2+4+2+4+4 as in line 12.

The poem is not in the original couplet form but rearranged into different stanzas of 5,6,5,9,12 lines. (The effect of this division is discussed in the next following para.)

There is another instance of violating the norm of laghu, guru, the syllabic pattern, in line 9, word da/da/kke (to the shore). This violation has resulted in suggesting the force of the dashing waves. The word 'daḍa' is a homophonous word. In one sense, it is an onomatopoeic word to express the sound of the dashing waves and the other meaning being 'shore'. Thus, this violation of the syllabic pattern has resulted in expressing the ferocious action of the wind and serves the aesthetic function in the context of the poem. This factor, which helps to enrich the enactment of the wind, is recognized and appreciated by the critics of this poem.

Foregrounding of the Tense forms and the Development of Iconic images

The starting line of the stanza, and the last line of every stanza is clearly divided on the basis of the different tense markers in Kannada.

The verb in the first line of the poem —

baralide! ahahaa! duuradi baralide! 'It comes! oh! from far off it comes!'

baralide 'may or may not come' is in future indefinite tense and suggests that the south wind is far off, and the effect of the wind is still unexperiencable. This is further supported by the development of the images used in this stanza —

hissing cobra from abyss? Is it the noise of a demolishing hungry devil?
Is it the moaning buffalo of kala, a new one.

These images developed by using myths, the exclamatory particle (o) and question marks express the anxiety, expectation, and imagination. The wind is not yet manifested outwardly, because the wind is in the abyss (patala), the seventh underworld, according to Hindu mythology. Then the stanza ends with the definite future tense.

baruvudu! bara bara! It will come! buzzing breeze!
bharadali baruvudu! buzzing it will come (line 6)

The verb 'baruvudu' (will come) of this line suggests the definiteness of the manifestation of the wind. The re-duplicated onomatopoeic words 'bara bara! bharadali' (buzzing) reflects the way in which the wind appears. This is how the south wind which was somewhere in the abyss manifests definitely and outwardly.

The next stage of the wind, which comes from abyss appears on the sea in stanza 2.

Raising the noise all of a sudden
making the sea water heave
Dashing the foamy waves to the shore
whooping and whooping and roaring

The stanza ends with present progressive tense.

barutide! maytoorade barutide! It is coming! unseen! It is coming!

The present progressive tense marker used here suggests that the wind has set in motion and is in progress.

Progressive towards what and how?
Breaking the most of the vessels and boats.
Tearing and bursting the wrapped mat of the sails
Shattering the ships, scattering the parts
Kicking them to the shore, playing with the boats
Now the south wind is blowing to the things on
The sea, like, masts, vessels, boats, ships, breaking,
Tearing, bursting, shattering, scattering and
Kicking them to the shore. Thus the wind has reached the shore.

This stanza ends with more confirmed tone

ide! ide! barutide! ide! ide! barutide! It is! It is! Coming! It is! It is! Coming!

In fourth stanza, the wind which had reached the shore is effecting now on the animals of the earth.

Applying the eyetex of the dust to the eyes of the birds
Laying the blows upon the bulls
Driving the cattles to their sheds
Setting fire to the trees in the woods

This stanza also ends with

barutide! ide! ide! ide! ide! barutide 'Coming! It is! It is! It is! It is! Coming'

But here one can notice the change in the word order of the previous stanza (line 16). The change in the word order here suggests that the south wind does not flow in unidirection, but blows with whirl. This has been enacted just by the reversal of the word order and thus the change in the effect.

Loosening the sarees and hair knots of the women
Tearing off the palmyra-umbrellas of the poor old folks
Hastening the boys to wind up the games
Uprooting the trees of the garden
Emitting the roots of coconut trees
Bending the areca trees, splitting palmyra trees
Tossing their heads, Raising the straws
of the huts to the sky
Hey! it comes! Hey! it comes! Hey! it comes!

In this stanza the whirl wind causes havoc to the human beings and the man constructed artifacts like garden, trees grown by them and huts constructed by them. The stanza ends with the verb.

bantai! bantai! ide! ide! bantai Oh! it has come! Oh! it has come!
Oh! it has come! Oh! it has come.

Note that although the verb is in past tense in its grammatical form, semantically it represents near future in its sense. The word 'ide! ide! (Yes it is Yes it is) confirms that the south wind is fast approaching towards human beings.

Scattering and feeling the bunches and branches
With riped and unriped fruits
To the left, to the right, and all around
Chasing and driving the western clouds to the hills and ghats
Making lightening stick light up and the thunder roar
Shaking the earth quiver, laying lightening on palmyra and banana
Pouring heavy rainfall, pounding on the earth
Making the parched earth beckon drinking water
Oh! it comes blowing, blowing it comes
South wind to the ghats and states
Oh! it has come! Oh it has Come! Oh! it has come! Oh! it has come!

This is how the south wind now moves upwards to the sky and causes roaring effects.

bantai (Verb+ addressive marker 'ai') 'Oh! it has come' is an addressive term suggesting that the wind is just approaching near by the addressee.

The line 'Oh! it comes blowing, blowing it comes' has once again the reversal of the word order, suggesting the whirl wind.

This is how the indefinite south wind moves upwards to the sea level from abyss and indicates its definiteness and moves in progress towards the shore and then the ground and moves upwardly towards the sky.

The foregrounding of grammatical tenses like indefinite future, definite future, present progressive and present tense, past tense indicating immediate present and dividing the stanzas based on these divisions suggests and enacts the distance and the development of the images.

The division of tense marker in time and tense adds another dimension to the poem. That is, the dimension of space to time, and thus all the three differences of tenses, time, spaces merge together to form a unified sense of time, tense and space. This suggests the omnipresence of the Wind in time and space.Thus these divisions of stanzas not only give aesthetic effect to the grammatical elements but also function very well as an aesthetic element.

The whole analysis can be presented in a table form as given below:

No.	***Tense suffixes***	***Progress of the wind***	***Progress of the images***
1.	Indefinite future Tense	from abyss	abstract images
2.	Definite future Tense	from abyss to sea level	observable images acting on the sea
3.	Present Progressive Tense	from sea to the shore	acting upon the articles on the sea
4.	Present Progressive Tense with reversed word order	from sea shore towards earth	reaching on the birds and animals

5.	Present Tense	wind moving towards human beings and artifacts	description of artifacts
6.	Present Tense with addressive particle	movement towards the sky and then addressee	description of clouds and rain fall

Opposition of images

The development of images from stanza 1 is in opposition to the images of stanza 2, i.e., the movement is upward towards the sea, Stanza 2 to 3 is the horizontal movement towards the shore. In stanza 4, it is towards the earth and on birds and animals. In stanza 5, it is towards human beings and artifacts. In stanza 6, it is towards the sky and finally towards the addressee. Though this sort of opposition in description is built up they are not exactly the binary opposition but 'multiple' oppositions or a chain system.

Verbs used in the poem

The verbs — muriyuta 'breaking' (line 12), hariyuta 'tearing)' (line 12), biriyuta 'bursting' (line 13), ikkuta 'applying', 'hitting' (line 18), haaruta 'flying' (line 20), including the foregrounded verb bar- 'to come' with various tense suffixes are motion verbs and in present progressive. These verbs help to suggest the motion and progress of the wind, in the context of the poem.

Verb Root + Causative Suffixes

The other verbs used in this poem along with the causative suffixes (-isu) are also motion verbs: and all of them are infinite verbs.

suusuukarisuta 'causing the sigh', bobbeya habbisi 'causing the noise', ubbara ebbisi 'causing the storm', ḍaḍakke hommisi 'causing the tides to dash the shore', bhoorboorane gummisi 'causing rewil with whooping noise', haḍaganu killisi 'causing the breakdown to the ships', tumuranu teelisi 'shattering the ships', daḍadali jhaaḍisi 'kicking the shore', dooṇiya naaḍisi 'playing with the boats', haṭṭige aṭṭisi 'driving to the shed', saḍalisi 'loosening', haridaaḍisi 'flying', 'tearing', daḍabaḍa naaḍisi 'causing to play', aḍimeelaagisi 'uprooting' laagisi 'emitting', bhaagisi 'bending', tuuṭaadisi 'tossing', hulu hulu maaḍisi 'causing to flow in the air', udurisi 'scattering', kedarisi 'befalling', mirugisi 'lightening', guḍugisi 'thundering', nadugisi 'shaking'.

All these motion verbs used with causative suffixes with infinite verbal forms suggest that south wind moves only through causing and leaving its marks on wherever it blows.

Sentence structure

The whole poem runs in a single sentence, to suggest the continuity of the blowing of the wind in a single breath, though one can find a few complex sentences.

Semantisation of phoneme (s)

An alveolar fricative (s) is in alliteration in the first stanza in the lines 2,3,4 and 5. But these words are basically not the words to represent the blow of wind ex. hasivina 'hungry', hosatu 'new', usurina 'breathe' etc.

The frequent use of/s/ which occurs with causative suffix -isi (infinite form) in word penultimate position, actually last syllable of the word fill the poem with /s/. But basically it has nothing to do with the blowing of the wind out of the textual context.

This is how the fricativeness of the phoneme /s/ gets the effect of the 'blowing wind' and thus it is semantized in the context of the poem.

The other phoneme that gives the effect of the 'noise of the blowing wind' is /d/, as in for example lines 22-29

'Saḍalisi maḍadiyaruḍiyanu muḍiyanu
baḍa mudukara koḍegari haridaaḍisi'; etc.

This /ḍ/ gets semantized by the onomatopoeic quality of the word 'daḍ' to represent the word 'hit' effect. This is how the semantization of the phrases through projection of contextual meaning into phonemes which themselves have no meaning but only meaning distinctive function.

Representation of Space

One can observe only one verb 'suusuukarisuta', 'blowing the air', in line 5, in the first stanza, but the quantity of verbs is raised in stanzas 2,3 and 4 in number. The proportion of the verbs used in stanzas 5 and 6 is still higher than in stanzas 2,3 and 4. This increase in number of verbs, in the selection of vertical axis of the poem attains more meaning, suggesting the vigour of the wind loaded with force. This is how, the semantic space also comes to the forefront and acts more functionally and contributes to the poem. This is how the two dimensional aspect of the space is explored in this poem.

Text specific meaning of the lexical items produced through the poem.

(1) naḍu (line 12) is 'waist of a person'- in the poetic context it gets the meaning of the centre of the boats and vessels.
(2) uḍise (line 13) 'to cause to wear to a person' in normal sense is extended to 'the cloth of the ship'
(3) kiilisu (line 14). The noun kiilu 'joint' is verbalized with - 'isu' suffix and in the context of the poem, it gets the meaning of disjoint, dismantle, which is not used in the normal language.
(4) laagisi (line 26) is a noun, meaning 'somersault' is also verbalized. Once again it is not possible in normal language usage.

Pragmatics of the poem

What was the need for the poet to revive the metrical pattern that was in vogue during twelfth and thirteen centuries? Has it got any bearing towards the revivalism of Hinduism?

Does the author suggest the then existing colonial socio-political situation which was going to be uprooted and the new one is established? There are evidences within the context of the poem that the 'South Wind' is blowing by demolishing several things. Only at the end of the poem, the rain pours suggesting the 'new creativity' to establish a new kind of society.

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Colophon:

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Translating Uttar-Aadhunikataa: Debates from the 'Bhasha' Literary Scene

Udaya Narayana Singh

The Background

In the modernist debates on translation, one often uses the metaphor of governance, as to which text will rule the roost in the TL culture. Others also use the metaphor of disease (for instance, 'uncontaminated' vs. 'contaminated' texts) as well as that of warfare ('win'/'gain' or 'loss' of meaning or translator), besides raising the issue whether 'translated texts' are to be described as 'partly inherited' and 'partly made up'. The 'tacit contract' among the members of both source and target texts is, of course, not an easy thing to happen, because no community is pressureless and apolitical. In each, members are often vying with each other and competing with one another's group to agree or disagree on all such contracts.

Interestingly, Mufwene 1997 raises an important question: "Are the norms of [expression] set in every speech community by native speakers?" He tries answering it partly and also argues that native speakers' intuitions do not have the same privilege in all texts, and that this was a highly variable entity. Recall Saussure who claimed that no individual can ever "create or modify by himself". The literary histories of our languages have shown that the greater the prowess and power of the individual, the better are the chances of these innovations surviving.

It is not that there are no interesting ideas on theory of translation emerging out of other theoretical positions. In a paper titled 'Intercultural Hermeneutics and Literary Translation', for instance, Pramod Talgeri draws an interesting parallel between the way sentences are embedded into other sentences which are themselves embedded, there is a kind of 'embeddedness' of a literary text in a cultural con-text. Viewing 'Word' as an inseparable 'agent' of cultural memory or viewing it as a 'patient' of social history, the hermeneuticians underline the participatory experience of the source language culture which the translator is expected to recontextualize (recall what Probal would say about 'reperceptualization') following the grammar of the target culture. Since the text has to be given a new garb, a novel locus, a virgin name and thus, a new identitity (and new 'references', as Talgeri would like to call it) - here is an opportunity for the readers of the source text to find newer and as yet undiscovered layers of meaning through its translation.

We are often told about 'language purity' and 'linguistic corruption'. The students of sociolinguists as well as translation studies are familiar with such thoughts. The popular belief is that the ancient or early formation of speech is pure and it becomes corrupt and 'vulgar' as the days go by. Look at the parallel

in the field of translation: The original text is pure, and it tends to corrupt as it travels from one language to other, and then to another, etc. At a given point of time in South Asia as well as in Europe, it was commonly and tacitly agreed upon that the purity of the 'original' must be maintained at any cost - if necessary, by artificially inducing certain amount of prescriptive planning or by opting for grand plans in the form of 'Sanskritization', which we could roughly equate with 'Purification'. The modernists responsible for the spread of this particular theory believed that this was a highly desirable activity, and is actually possible. Thus, while everybody agreed that 'Prakritization' (often read as 'degeneration') of languages and texts was inevitable, it has got to be arrested to create a platform of discourse that is widely acceptable, easily teachable-learnable and so that it defies aging.

The high modern language is thus a higher value speech in comparison to all those which, for some reason or the other, did not get the chance of undergoing appropriate changes to qualify for this epithet. Now this clearly creates a 'caste' distinction among speech. Some are declared as 'twice-born' - not only 'standard' but 'modern' as well, whereas a large number Bhashaas are expected to remain even below the first level. What is taken for granted is that there are a large number of speech which do not get the desired push to end up as acceptable form of literary expression.

Notice that for the sake of argumentation, one could even turn the tables and say that what is unmodern is chaste, unsecrated, inviolate and inviolable, whereas what is modernized is impure, contaminated and mixed code/text, tainted with a purpose. There is a connection of all these to the issue of linguistic empowerment: Who or which group 'owns' (or decides the destiny of) a form of speech becomes an important question to resolve so that we can decide as to who are the 'other'(and hence, 'foreign') and consequently, who are 'native' to a speech, and thus are a part of the 'self'. Those human aggregates who are a part of this construction of self will of course watch with an ever-increasing alarm that what they have always taken for granted as their own have slowly become an acreage of only some among them. This forces a certain kind of cleavage among all those who were expected to be a part of the 'Self', but who now suddenly find the ground slipping from under their feet. All this may have happened because some class or caste or community or group want to capture the position of power, at the cost of others, to decide who should be othered.

Namvar Singh, in his own critique of modernity, had once stated that beginning from 1936 of the four protest movements in Hindi against the poetic tradition of aristocratic gentility ('abhijaata shaaliinataa'), viz. pragativaad, prayogvaad, laghu- maanavavaad and akavitaavaad, in each such instance, 'de-Sanskritization' was the aim of those who initiated the protest. He called the 'great' poetic tradition - often upheld aloft by poetic giants as 'False courtesy' ('chadma bhadvataa) and such protestations as instances of 'False discourtesy'

('chadma abhadrataa') because every time there is a protest as above, slogans are raised to drop a few words to allow entry of some other expressions. The poet-critics like Sriram Varma argued that poets have had suffered a terrible erosion of language, and their poetry in Hindi was struck with only ten words - conspiracy, ruling class, blood-sucking, shoes, gun, violence, repair, march, wall and preparation - with which they sought to change the entire society.

If modernity is a product of civilization, if it is a characteristic of our crisis, 'uttar-aadhunikataa' allows us to realize - in the words of Jean-Pierre Mileur (1985 'Literary revisimism and the burden of modernity') - "our post-enlightment dilemma" and that makes it possible to appreciate that "the burden of our modernity involves the apparent necessity of a choice between the best interests of the past and those of the present and the future". The post-modern philosophers too claim, to quote Berel Lang (1986) that "there's a sharp gap between the past and present, the disanalogy".

I guess before talking about the paradigms such as '*uttar- aadhunikataa*' and/or '*aadhunikataa*' their connection with translation must be made clear. By way of a footnote, let me add here that the fact that 'uttar' here is not 'post-something' is probably important to remember. Also important is to recall that in our philosophical tradition, we have already had positions such as '*uttar-miimaamsaa*'. The elliptical bohemian rootless '*aadhunikataa*' that we are all familiar with or the 'High Modernism' that some of us were talking about in yesterday's deliberations is transcended in the *uttar-aadhunik* writing. *Uttar-aadhunikataa* will then have to be viewed as a serious attempt to destabilize our neat demarcation of known vs. unknown, to challenge the theory of information and redundancy. The question is: Does this paradigm allow us to look at the act of translating differently from the way we are accustomed to view it? As a sociolinguist, I am interested in finding out whether 'translation' allows an alternative model of development of our bhaashaas?

Aadhunikataa as a Paradigm

But let me begin from the beginning. In fact, in Bengal '*Aadhunikataa*' as a paradigm had descended, like the proverbial saint Naarada often did, from the predictable and expansive heaven of Europe during the early 19th century when Bengali critics like Hara Chandra Dutta and Kailash Chandra Basu Dutta had first made out a case for the supremacy of the Western over the Oriental. In a lecture on Bengali poetry at the Bethum Society in 1851 the two had stated that there was no Bengali poetry worth discussing as whatever was available was brazen and vulgar. Kailash Dass who moderated their talks held the same view.

It was no coincidence that this attempt to negate one's own poetic tradition should misguide poets like Michael Madhusudan Dutta to write in 1853 (to a friend) that *"it is my intention to throw off the fetters forged for us by a servile admiration of everything Sanskrit". Regrettably,* he begins these lines by

saying, *"... Remember that I am writing for that portion of my country-men who think as I think, whose minds have been more or less imbued with western ideas and modes of thinking".*

Around the same time we find critics like Ishwar Gupta (consider his voluminous autobiographical treatise titled *'Kavijiivanii'*) arguing that in the context of Bengali poetry he would rate spontaneity and employment of 'deshiiya' or colloquial collocations and expressions much higher in poetic value than poetizing with pedantry - a poetic talent which could be acquired by making compromises with what was 'natural' and 'unmarked'. The counter-position offered by Ishwar Gupta was emboldened by perceptive poet-critics such as Rangalal Bandyopadhyay who, in a subsequent meeting of the same Bethune Society - on 13th May 1852 - put forth his 'Proposal on Bengali poetry' *(Baangaalaa kabitaa biSayak prastaab).* Here Rangalal had perhaps shown the seeds of comparative literature in India when he critically compared Shakespeare and Bharatchandra Raygunakar, but more importantly, he denied that one must severe one's umbilical chord to achieve modernity.

Further, Rangalal made a prognosis that in a colonial context a dominated and subjugated race could also author great poetry but that it would usually have the tendency to drift towards anarchy and sexual fantasizing. (It is needless to say that in the poetry of the decadent modernist after another 100 years we do notice such debasement in abundance.) May I recall here the sarcasm hidden in the epilogue of Rangalal in his *'Padminii Upaakhyaana'* where he identifies the limitation of his time - the introduction of western education, consequently the inculcation of western values, resulting in a possible poisoning of our race but at the same time - how inevitable was the knowledge which was as unavoidable as sun. Translated into English, his words would read like this:

Text 1: A 'great' luck for India portends
Her night full of sorrows here ends
Would she still remain asleep, o friends?

By the grace of the British kind
in the horizon of our mind
knowledge as sun will spread far 'n behind!

In the lake of peace petus
resides the happiness-lotus
let the learned mind bemuse with us

O morn of kindness lords
if revolting cloud accords
a poison-rain,
let them not send!
Her nights full of sorrows end.

Here I would like to draw the attention of readers to what is popularly known as the 19th century 'awakening' in Bengal (often described as a 'renaissance' - obviously because even historical tools and categorical labels employed are often derivative - we are only engaged in plumbing and fitting them) which made it possible for making of literary and social reformists like Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. But what did they say about this 'inevitable' western education to which Rangalal had referred to? Vidyasagar takes a vow as he says:

> "Whatever else I may do with my children, I shall not send them to English schools - there isn't a better and surer way of becoming rootless and hollow" (He used the words 'aSaar' and 'depo').

Dwijendranath Tagore also joins the debate as he is credited to have argued:

> "If these (British) schools and colleges are done away with, I do not think there will be a great harm for the indigenous education (='lokashikSaa') in our society. Rather it may have a more positive result in our society if socially/contextually relevant education is introduced. The way today's Bengali child is growing up within the constraints of a foreign model of education, how is he expected to contribute to our nation-building?"

Much later, in 1928, philosophers such as Krishnachandra Bhattacharya, would say the same thing: *"Our mode of thinking is thus a hotch-potch and is necessarily barren. Servility has made inroads into our innermost consciousness"*. Independent thinking seemed to be the first casualty of Westernization which, to my mind, seems to be the precondition for modernization. It is this modernity which seemed to be driving the subsequent generations more and more towards consumerist and materialistic western model of social organization, ensuring a permanent intellectual and economic slavery.

While this was happening - not surprisingly - an insipid romanticism in both tone and tenor - had been smuggled in stylistically in the writings of many in those days getting rid of which was a problem even for an erudite ***'Bhaashaa'*** writer such as Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. Bankim complained that neither the English neo-romantics nor their 19th century Bengali replica in Hemchandra and Navin Chandra Sen could satisfy him until he could rediscover the everlasting charm of oralcy of the poets like Ramprasad Sen (refer to Pramatha Chaudhury's criticism of 'aado-aado bhaav' and 'gado-gado bhaav' in poetry).

A reflection of this critical reference can be seen in Vivekananda's negative assessment of the young and juvenile Tagore's initial dabbling in construction of his own poetic diction. Of course, fortunately for us, Tagore changed, just as Madhusudan had. As time went by, Tagore became more and more pronounced about his own reading of his time and space and in presenting a critique of his environ. He vigorously differed from the proponents of borrowed glow of

Eurocentric modernity - and charted out his own course, digging out his own style from under his roots. Whereas the modernist would argue that the past must be stilted and stunted at some point so that one could grow beyond past (comment attributed Bertolt Brecht; cf. Anjan Sen 1993:65), here is what Tagore had to say about looking back at one's own roots:

Text 2: 'Jakhan baahire raudrer kharatara taap,aakaash haite brSTi pare naa,
takhan shikaRer prabhaabe aamraa atiiter andhakaarer nimnatana desh
haite ras aakarSan karite paari.'

"When sun shines mercilessly, raising mercury in the world outside,
when there is not a drop of rain from the sky, at that time, thanks
to our roots, we can draw upon 'rasa' from the dark innermost
chamber of our past".

Madhusudan, on the other hand, first struck fetters of all kinds - end-rhyming, conventional metrics, thematic treatment, lexical coinage, - and then synthesized European and Indian trends to evolve his own inimitable diction which demanded (but failed to get in his life-time) a new yardstick for evaluation. For that lack of appreciation Madhusudan was saddened. That was also when he defined a poet as "the proud, silent, lonely man of song". By 1881, he wrote to Rajnarayan Bose: *"Some of my friends as soon as they see a drama of mine, begin to apply the canons of criticism that have been given forth by the masterpieces of William Shakespeare. They perhaps forget that I write under very different circumstances. Our social and moral developments are of a different character".*

Canonization and Universals

This then brings us to another characteristics of '*aadhunikataa*', viz., creation of, or rather call it, universalization of literary canons. Contrast this with the well-known Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which argues that no two languages reflect the same social reality and that human languages simply do not have different labels attached to the same/similar set of categories, or else translation could be reduced to a search for mere equivalence.

In fact, one can extend this position further and say that "our aesthetics will derive from the canon of our worldview", which in turn, is "determined by our own languages" (Singh, 1990). If we argue that our languages and cultures (stated in plural because more often than not an oriental person is split between at least two cultures and is almost surely two languages) constrain our perception as well as are constrained by it, building a 'standard' critical theory can only be viewed skeptically as a new way of establishing hegemony.

In fact, if we are to believe that "there is no magic land of meaning outside human consciousness" following semanticists like E.D. Hirsch (1967), it will follow from there that all attempts at building a monolithic critical discourse are to be viewed as attempts to level up this magic land of meaning by obfuscating

all uneven terra and by precluding any future corruption of space. Cognitive psychologists like Edmund Hussler would even go one step further and state that "meaning" may be conceived as a self- identical schema whose boundaries are determined by an originating speech event, while significance may be conceived as a relationship drawn between that self-identical meaning and something, anything else" (as quoted in Hirsch, 1984:203). Compare this position with Barthian idea of signification which argues that ideas cleave and cohere to the body of text like a leach does and that 'criticism' is a system of demystification or de-leching language. Also to Rosenblatt's (1984:123-8) position where poetry is defined as an event of reading poems (i.e. poetry 'happens' only when one 'reads' poems). The claim is that literature is that thing which a reader discovers in a text.

Now whether one believes in the linguistic relativity principle (where language diversity has the focus) or on inherent semantic diversity a la Hirsch and Hussler, or even on reader's liberation movement led by Barthes, while looking back at the 19th century history of critical discourse in the Bhaashaa literature, monism seemed to be a dominating force. There were writers like Bankim who tried to shrug it off by distancing themselves from all attempts at standardizing it. Bankim's revolt against the archaic or *'saadhu'* Bengali in his novels or his idea of synthesizing what his detractors called *'guruchaNDaalii'* (=Classicalized colloquials) was a case in point. Among Tagore's contemporaries in the field of poetry such as Biharilal Chakraborty, Dwijendranath Tagore or Govindachandra Das, the last two also favoured the colloquial and down-to-earth (rural) style in their poetry which had reflection in Tagore's own poems especially after 'Sonar tari' (1893). To conclude this point, the forces of modernity contributed our languages more towards what one can call 'Sanskritization' of literature (by that we refer not merely to introduction of classical lexis or syntax but also to unifications/standardization tendencies) whereas the counter- force in Bengal was always in favour of retaining diversity of style and diction and resist divorcing it from roots - something I called 'Prakritization' of literature elsewhere (cf. Singh 1987).

Interestingly (and this brings us to the another point) we must remember that on the theoretical plane, it was again Tagore who opposed 'Modernity' in a lecture to fellow writers and poets in May, 1927. We must also note that by 1920s, the modernist agenda had been firmly established among the post-Tagore poets who began writing in derivative forms and styles - following French, German and English poets. This is not to undermine poetic prowess of poets like Bishnu De and Sudhindranath Datta, as they often challenged and changed our poetic syntax and enforced pattern shift. But a careful analysis of their work will show that their poetic diction was replete with verbs of intellection, comprehension, affectation and volition - a resonance of which we could see even in the current modernist poets like Alokeranjan (refer to one of Singh 1992, a statistical study

of his award–winning anthology 'Marami Karat') Modernity then also promoted intellectualization of our theme and treatment.

Not all the modernist poets in Bengal wrote about poetry or writing but we find some of them announcing, as Buddhadev Bose did in 1938, 'Tagore era has met its doom' or as Sunil Gangopadhyay would do - in the '60s, in his oft-quoted lines - tinjoraa paayer laathite rabiindra-racanaabalii luTaay paaposhe' ("three pairs of legs kick Tagore volumes/make them roll on mattresses"), the fourth characteristics of Aadhunikataa becomes clear: Demolish all that is institutionalized. But what did Tagore say in 1927? He argued that the main purpose of literature and art was to innovate and to create new forms, where the role of content was limited. Let me now extend his argument. Since content here mattered only so far as it helped creating a neologue or neotaxis. Therefore, the European modernity enterprise which was built upon the loss of cultural cohesion and which was largely elliptical and denying all previous content, mattered very little to the contemporary Bengali literature.'

Imaging 'Aadhunikataa': Decaying 'Modernity'

When Tagore voiced his first concern about the agenda of the modernists in 1927, he also claimed that "modernity depends not upon time but upon temperament", and what we consider to be crucial exemplification of his statement, Tagore had analyzed Eliot and Pound and rejected their "attitude of aggressive disbelief and alumni towards the universe" as modern. Of course, he went one step more than was warranted to call this attitude "a personal mental aberration". But Tagore was not being merely critical as he set up a different definition of what is 'eternally modern' which is a point of beginning for the uttar- aadhunik in Bengali: "Pure modernism, then, consists in looking upon the universe, not in a personal and self-regarding manner, but in an impersonal and matter of fact manner ... In the same dispassionate way, that modern science analyses reality, modern poetry looks upon the universe as a whole; this is what is eternally modern". But Tagore refused to attach any importance to the label 'modern' here as a tool for literary historians because by his logic the vintage Chinese poet Li-Po was also modern.

Here was then the first post-modern attempt to divorce 'modernity' from time and space, but the modernists in Bengal in the 1930s would have more of them. Thus wrote Buddhadev Basu in 1948 in his 'An acre of Green Grass' once again-trying to use Tagore to legitimate his position "Rabindranath made Bengali a part of Europe. The rest of India, in those early days of disorder was hostile cold, crustaceous, only Bengal absorbed Europe (a lofty claim indeed = UNS) with speed and thoroughness that should be marked as a record of human relations".

Here was a clear equation between 'aadhunikataa' and Europeanism or westernization. About these derivative and initiative exercises in discovering one's routes of transplantation (as against the search for 'roots' among the 'eternally modern'), Sisir Kumar Das (1995:229) made an interesting observation: "The imitations of British modernists had one salutary effect: the new poetry that was

born with Eliot and his contemporaries came as a challenge to the ideals considered by the English educated Indians - those ideals were also derived from the English poetic tradition ... It was a borrowed experience, nonetheless it gave a courage for experimentations. Even imitations can create the awareness of the original".

This emergence of 'new poetry' in different Indian Bhaashaas came at a different time. In Hindi, we find its impact quite early by 1941-44 in Ajneya's writings, although in Bengali it all started with *'Kallol'* era poets (Premendra Mitra, Achintya Sengupta and Buddhadev Basu with his *'Bandiir bandanaa'* (1930), *'Kankaabatii'* (1937), *'Damayantii'* (1943) and *'Draupadiir SaaRii'* (1948)) and with poets like Sudhindranath Datta's first anthology, *'Tanvii'* (1930), and later with his *'Orchestra'* (1935) as much as with Bishnu De's *'Urbasii o AarTemis'* (1933), *'Puurbalekhaa'* (1941) and *'Sandviiper Car'* (1947). In Hindi, it all began with the replacement of *'chaayaavaada'* by the poets owing allegiance to *'prayogvaada'* and *'pragativaada'* in early '40s. Later, with *'Taar Saptak'* poets (1943), many others (esp. Maktibodha) came into forefront. In Punjabi too, the change began in the '30s with Mohan Singh's writings and was consolidated with Baba Balvant's voice of protest in his *'Mahaanaac'* (1941) and *'Bandergaah'* (1951). Marathi with Mardhekar's *'Kaati Kavitaa'* (1947) and P.S. Rege's *'dolaa'* (1950) introduced in the modernist bandwagon a little late but still it was much before Gujarati where the revolt against past traditions began with Suresh Joshi's *'Upajaati'* (1956) and with Niranjan Bhagat's poems. In comparison, Kannada was a much delayed entrant with Adiga with his 1952 - anthology and B.C. Ramachandra Sharma.

While the second phase of aadhunikataa in Hindi began with magazines like 'Pratiika' (1947) and 'Nayii Kavitaa' (1954) led by Ajneya, - the corresponding development in Bengali began with the publication of 'Krittivaas' which threw out the neo-modernists like Shakti Chattopadhyay, Sunil Gangopadhyay and Sankha Ghosh. The denigration of the classical has, however, been a recurrent theme of the modernists of all .... Consider what Sunil had to say, writing under the pseudonym 'Sanaatan PaaThak' (in 1975:991), about Bankim who "cannot but be described as anything other than a second or third-rate writer". The smear campaigns such these as have their own zenith but the debasement is unbelievably turned writing into a losing proposition. Thus wrote shakti (1976:4). "In the present times only four percent people read his novels, and he would have been an obscure and tenebrous entity had his pieces not been included in the school textbook".

So far, I talked about only three generations of modernist poets in Bengal represented by Michael, Kallol poets and Krittivaasa-poets in 1850s, 1920s and 1950s, respectively and identified certain characteristics of their writings which together create an image of 'modernity' in our mind: Severing of links with one's tradition, identification of modernity with westernization or Eurocentrism (in the dimension of space) and as a trend that can emerge only after pre-modern traditional phase of literary productivity (in the dimension of time), insipid romanticism, and obscurity, standardization of expression system while at the same time taking

liberties with it, and establishment of a universal (read it as 'western') canon of critical appreciation, etc.

There was one line of writing which begins with the alternative Bishnu De and flowered in poems of Samar Sen and Dinesh Dash, and found the most convincing voice of protest first in the legendary single-anthology poet like Sukanta Bhattacharya (who wrote the famous lines like 'Ksudhaar raajye prithivii gadyamay, purNimaa caand jeno jhalsaano ruTii' (In the land of hunger earth appears prosaic; the full moon in the sky look like a burnt out chapati), and later in Subhash Mukhopadhyay's poems like "priya phul khelbaar din nay adya". Obviously, we are referring to the poetry of protest which emerged in Bengal in the '40s with the communist movement.

The decay of modernism begins in Bengal with the third generation of modernists who gathered themselves under the umbrella of a periodical called 'Shatabhishaa' in 1951 where the new modernists admitted that "in the hands time, the techniques used by the poets of the '30s (=meaning the first generation modern poets of the 'Kallol' era) became obsolete" because their 'social consciousness' and 'liquefied poetizing' would be of no use any more. 'Krittivaas' succeeded this endeavor but the first thing it tried to do was to break the backbone of criticism. Here was the initiation of what I would like to call 'adjectival' style of criticism. Appreciation became a matter of personal whim and fancy. As time went by, 'Krittiva-s' revolted against scholarship which was why Sunil Gangopadhyay wrote in 1971 reminiscing about those days: "All those essays about poetry were impenetrable and dry, full of artificial and thorn-like verbose expressions. Most of those essays were intellectual exercise, or an attempt to look for an avenue in apparent philosophization. The purity of poetry got burnt out in its explanations". (cf. 'Desh', Saahitya no, 1379b).

In 1976, the 'Uttar-aadhunik' criticism first raised its head in the writing of a group of poets, writers and painters in 'Gaangeya Patra'. Predictably, the war of words between the decaying modernists and the uttar-aadhunik continued for another 20 years since then. But by 1986, with the publication of the anthology *'Kabitaar bhaashaa'* and *'Myth, Saahitya o Samskriti'*, the curtain or cascade put up by the modernists were already raised. Dipak Majumdar (the founder-editor of *krittivaas*) had declared null and void "the semantics of words like pain, grief, satan, ultimate, empty, sin, chastity, blood, song and God (*=yantraNaa viSaad, shaitaan, param, shuunya, paap, shubhra, rakta, gaan and iishvar*) - all those expressions which continued from the end of last century until yesterday". Does it not find a parallel with the pattern of thinking of Namvar Singh and Sriram Verma?

It reminds us of a similar predicament of the Hindi modernists in end-sixties when the document entitled *'Siidhii lekhak shivir ke dasta-vez'*, was brought out - where (on 14-16th March 1970) a group of Hindi poets and critics had raised the issue of 'debasing' of poetic language. The specific term used by them was *'avamuulyan'*. One can read it in two ways. one where it is synonymous with

'atrophy' or degeneration, meaning thereby that the words and expressions of 'today's language have lost their edge as a consequence of which they become gyrandical and genderless. In this interpretation, syntax gathers dust due to perfunctory invariance and vivacious content leaves the tattered form of language way behind in its pilgrimage to poetry. The other possible reading is that like our currency, our language today has also been devalued where our possible stock of sounds, words and structures far outweigh our plausible stock of ideas, imageries and semantics (cf. Singh, 1990:28). We do not know which meaning to accept but this parallel development of modernists who could even decree a language no more fit for great poetry seems interesting to us.

The first and foremost characteristics of decadent modernism of the '80s was this rejection of language - search for an 'otherness' which is ever elusive. Quite related to this was their anti-scholasticism. There have always been exceptions like Shankha Ghosh or Alokeranjan Dasgupta. Even when poets like Alokranjan draw from the western myths and look for novelty in metrics or in concatenation of expressions there is neither rejection of language nor any trace of scholastic aptitude.

Obviously, for the third generation modernists of '50s and '60s, the second generation had set a precedence in bringing in the western poetry, through translation, transplantation (of ideas/myths/imageries) or through imitation. To mention an instance of the former type, we could see the tremendous influence what Buddhadev Basu's transcreation of Bodlaire had - which had practically acted as a manual for budding modernists of the kind of Shakti Chattopadhyay and Pabitra Mukhopadhyay (cf. Amitabha Gupta, 1989:22).

Contrast the third generation modernists with those that have emerge today as their successor and who have called themselves as 'enRigopaal geNriigopaal'. They warn you, dear reader - you would get answer to all your ills (all subsequent texts are translation by the author from original Bengali poems) -

Text 3: 'If your nerve is weak, let us know
If your girl-friend finds you frigid 'n leaves,
let us know
If you have constipation, do let us know
We'll tell you the way out
We'll tell you all"

(Bhaskar Chakraborty, 'Dhaaraabaahik samaacaar', 1994:59)

Their modernity lies in their dependence on the resonentia - on sexual power, and not on words:

Text 4: "Like a peacock in the rain
gobbles up drops of clouds
to spread its wings in plumage -
like it draws upon power from its
urge for sex,

in the same way
its the voice which is crucial
in any love-sentence
not the words that make them all".

(Sanyam Pal: 'Tomaake prakrita bhaalobaasi', 1995:89)

These poets, seem to enjoy their own debasement, negative imaging of themselves:

Text 5: "They tell me I am a piggy tail of a homely hound
it is very easy to chop me off -
And me too think I am a piggy tail of a...
They tell me I am the crow
in the story of the crow in the guise of a peacock..."

(Jayanata Bhowmick, 1995:89)

The second typical feature of the latest generation modernists lie in their agenda of debasing women - in the imagery they choose to depict women. They paint a world where "in the midnight/we might/meet a foolish woman/who's just aborted again" (cf. Abdus Samad, 1995:83). When the poet sings a song of six pence, enamored by the display of a woman's bare legs, in a pseudo discourse with her dress which is eager to reveal, he is obviously viewing gender only as a saleable category. For instance, the modernist writes:

Text 6: O you coloured saree! Don't you fly up to show your leg
it is a leg beyond compare - an intoxicating leg it is
it is a leg shaven off - carefully nurtured and borrowed leg it is!

What a way to describe woman whom a major poet discovers as his wife who does not like poems but understands only spices: (Literally,)

Text 7: She is in the pressure cooker, empty rhetoric and rain
She is in the science - proton, electron, profane
She is in the faith inspired as fired force
She is in the jungle, also in the intercourse
She is in the warmth of a knee
in the field of love is she!"

(Phanibhusan Acharya, 'Mandirgaatrerprasaadharirataar haater aaynaay', 1994:111)

Uttar-Aadhunikataa: Lessons for a New Translation Theory

In a keynote address to a Seminar on Translation at the CIEFL last year (16-20 March 1998), I had talked about 'Speech as Chaos: Translation as Cacophony', trying to draw a parallel between theories of language and translation. Speech, I said, has a chaotic existence, and Chaos like speech has a unique pattern occupying a three- dimensional space. I said it requires three different kinds of semantics to understand them:

First, chaos can be understood in terms of semantics of confusion - the universe of which ranges from a mere befuddlement to a fierce fracas. This confusion can be a mix- up, malady or even an anarchy, the natural offshoot of it being 'disorder' of various kinds - personal, political, socio- cultural, literary and even linguistic. Any text which defies our own logic of understanding will appear to us, the uninitiated, as a mere medley of cacophony. It is perfectly possible that interpretations defy the author, too - a theme that translates easily:

Text 8: Conspiracy

I don't know why
moods of floating letters in sky
have become so bitter!
I don't know whether
the fierce wave of fire-spitting weather
can make them better!...

(From Nachiketa: Madhyampurush Ekvacan, 1999)

Secondly, there is this semantics of amorphism, under which chaos can be understood as something which happens and evolves and, therefore, has a form and is yet a formless, indeterminate, indefinite and an obscure entity. The contradiction which is evident in the above statement is in building a theory of translation. I am not surprised to find that while 'translation' seems to be an 'impossible' nominal construct, it is still a perfectly acceptable verb. Chaos, and all that goes in that class - language, image or text, thus defy forms, and are yet amenable to rule-govern explanations to different degrees.

Thirdly, chaos can also be understood as standing for the void - for a space - something that symbolizes not an object or entity, but the inter-relationship between them. It is this intermediary space - unspoilt by grammar, where the creative resides. The subject of her discourse who is more a 'potential' than a 'real' communicator, provides the much needed hiatus - between one man and another, between man as an individual and society, between an organism or substance and its environ. A translator seems to be twice removed from this scene often trying to negotiates between two worlds, and thus becomes the link between two cultures.

Let me give two examples here, one each from poetry and prose from Maithili as to how such negotiations are made. Wherever deviations and obligatory innovations occur, I have underlined them:

TEXT 9: Kanchaniya by Lalit

"Her name was Kanchan, but they call her Kanchaniya. She was poor and untouchable, which was why everybody would call her **Kanchaniya, and not Kanchan.** She has been a silent witness offourteen springs. Her father Harjanm was a farm labourer of Bauku Choudhury. Last year, during the summer, he fell down froma rose-apple tree and died. He left behind, like other labourers,

the only property he had - **the two earning hands of her daughter and the legacy of a loan in her lame mother...**

Her hut was away from Babhan-toli. It wasn't really a hut. It was only a shanty shed which has somehow been made livable by affixing a door. The lamey had been having fever for over a month now. And besides, she had a large spleen in her stomach. Where will she get money from to buy the medicines she needs?...

With a wolf in the stomach, Kanchaniya sat motionless in a corner of their courtyard the whole day, placing her head on her knees.

"...Where are you?" she heard the feeble voice of her mother from inside the room. But even this fervent call of the sick woman could not break her inertia...

When Digu too left, Balo remained seated without any movement in the semi-dark early evening hours for a long time. Much later, he probably remembered the festival of Sukrati. He lighted the German lantern with big glasses and hung it from the hook hanging down the roof.

"...Babu!" a feeble voice could be heard from back of the outer house. But his drunken eyes were so **blurred in bibbery** that they were unable to make out the hazy figure from the darkness of that corner.

"Who's that?" Balo asked in awe. When the shadow came nearer he could recognize Kanchan.

From whatever she said he could understand everything - the old woman was sick and hungry, so much so that she was hungry the whole day. There was nothing at home,...but all along his eyes were elsewhere.... they were watching Kanchan. She was looking quite beautiful. The torn old saree was unable to hide her sharp features. Noboby knows when Kanchan blossomed like that! **Bounder me**, she's snappily grown up **lickety split**."

A poetic text now:

Text 10: Sounds Growing Within

With a lot of pain
comes out
the sound of silence
    or of a word
    from within.

Inside, somebody sits in a distant cave
                and weeps;
Inside, someone laughs aloud sitting on the peak
                of a mountain;
Inside, you hear someone walk with caution,
                noiselessy;
Inside, you could hear the sound of
                opening of an envelope-
From there, words bubble up in a cauldron
of letters - visible in each line!

It takes a lot of pain
to realize the cost of your tears, Sister!
Sentences which begin to form do not end
Compounds get washed out in rain
like a hay-stack in the river named Lagma
which doesn't even raise a murmur ever...
(From Nachiketa: Madhyampurush Ekvacan, Forthcoming)

If chaos, and with it texts have a geometry that is not so well understood, but about which it is clear that there is both pattern and chaos inherent in them, it should be interesting to see how the theoreticians try to understand them. The linguists propose to understand them in terms of a duality of patterning that was two-fold: vertical and horizontal. Vertically, the idea is that language is basically a layered construct which is organized in some sort of a hierarchy of syntax and morphophonology. In this sense, as a construct language is viewed as having two levels of patterning - one on top of the other. In a recent essay entitled 'Nativity of Language', Annamalai (1997) hints at another kind of double articulation:

> "Language has double existence. One is grammatical existence and the other is social. Both are not a priori existence, but they come to exist by human construction.

He then goes on to elaborate the other pattern of language:

> "The social existence of a language comes about through its social construction by the community of speakers. The social construct may be about the boundary of the language...It may be about the norm of the language... It may be about the propriety over language... It may be about what the language stands for; that is, about its cultural and political symbolization."

Notice that both grammatical and social existence of language show such patterning as are beyond individuals and idiosyncrasies, because what is grammatical must also bear the stamp of being social. In other words, language is as much general as it is specific - no matter how contradictory that may sound. It is this language within and over which an author dwells, and weaves her text, and yet must be readable to others. Since variation and stratification are bound to be there in its social aspect, grammar cannot be a monolithic entity. But is grammar a convenient metaphor?

Returning to the question of development of languages, I had argued elsewhere (cf. Singh 1994) that languages that develop on their own are said to have undergone primary standardization and those that are developed consciously are supposed to be under the category of secondary standardization. We could now see that those days are gone when language modernization followed language standardization, because there could be third/developing world communities where both may go

hand in hand. Alternatively, we may find languages which can chart out new course of development - not generally talked about nor known. There it seems to make to follow either of these courses - (i) Policies that worked elsewhere which have to be modified and re-implemented, or (ii) there could be models, policies and options that could be invented - rather than being translative about them. These are known to have different models: being translative versus being innovative.

If language development is a 'homogenizing' process bringing in linguistic uniformity rather than encouraging blooming of a large basket of varying styles and such other speech varieties, one must also see whether any one of the above strategies could ensure development without sacrificing the inherent heterogeneity of our languages.

One might be surprised to hear about, 'inherent heterogeneity'? How can a text have such layers? Consider the following translations (done by this author) from texts originally written in Bhojpuri:

Text 11: The Dew-Drop by Ashtabhuja Shukla

They are watching
the dew-drops;
They know these weren't drops -
This was the sky weeping silently
All night -
These were her tears!
And yet people trample on them
And walk ahead!

Times do not remain the same!
Season changes
And the day comes
When the whole world dies in thirst,
And yet
The sky
Does not shed even a drop of tears!

(From 'Paatii', page 8)

Text 12: The Village God (by Ramdeva Shukla)

"Once again, there was a Panchayat meeting in the village today. Autar Baba was seated on the highest seat. The seat was nothing but a pendulant cot with bamboo straps tied below and woven with ropes made out of seasoned grass. As Autar Baba settled down on it, the ropes of the cot bent down unusually. Baba was wearing a half of five yards cloth below, and tied the rest across his legs behind his back from where it was swinging in the air, back and forth. The Panchayat there would also swing along. Dangling his dhoti like this, only God knows how many cases were handled by Autar Baba. One has lost count of them.......

Gojar Chowdhry would then appear mixing khaini and chuna on his palm and would instantly begin shooting his cryptic comments, 'What's the matter Pundit Baba? The members of the Panchayat haven't come yet?' In a few moments, they would arrive anyway. Autar Baba would until then lie baring his back and legs. He would now rise and sit up straight. As he did that, that piece of cloth tied around his back and legs would begin dangling once again. Spitting his betel water in a corner, he would thus begin by looking up at Gojar Chowdhry, 'Yes, tell me Gojar-bhai! Why are we assembled here?.......

Those half-naked middle aged fellows sitting on the ground in a semi-circle suddenly livened up. Some faces became pale in fear. Some had hiccups. Some began coughing nervously. Some became speechless for a moment. That was when Satua Kaka burst out, 'Why don't you speak up, bastard? What stops you from speaking? Is your mouth paralyzed?' A fear gripped everybody like a black cloud covers the entire sky. A middle-aged dark fellow began inching towards the cot of Autar Baba. Everybody was watching him intensely. He wanted to say something but wasn't able to speak up. It seemed all his words were stuck in his laryngeal groove. Kisnu gathered some courage to say, 'Why don't you speak up, brother? Why do you keep quiet?'.......

Satua Kaka, Birju Baba, Autar Baba and a host of others started asking the same question at the same time, 'Tell us! Why wouldn't you dine at Mangal's house?' All those sitting on the ground got their voice back. Everybody had the same thought, 'Why? Why?' That was when Girgitwa laughed aloud. All started looking at him. Girgitwa was still laughing trying to hold on to his laughter but was unable to do so when Birju Baba asked him angrily,'What's this Girgitwa? Why did you begin dancing like a joker in the middle of all this? Just keep your mouth shut!' Autar Baba now looked at Girgitwa carefully. He asked, 'What is it, Girgittu? You must be trying to hide something you know! What's that? Why don't you tell us all?'

Girgitwa now began laughing more loudly. After a while, he controlled himself and said, 'Hey Baba! You too are aware!' Now everybody's eyes moved toward Autar Baba."

In Conclusion

In a few recent essays on translation, Otto Ikome appears to take the view that an author/speaker is a "foremost political predicate for social empowerment"- which make such concepts as any other social stereotype. In the chain of communication,

Who is the initiator when we are dealing with a text in translation?

How do we decide that?

If we consider the function of the given target text, it may seem that whenever and wherever there is a translation, it will be the source language, often with power, determining the nature and extent of super-imposition or transplantation of a text over another, or a language over another.

Further, when a text has already traveled across linguistic and cultural barriers, it may be of little importance to know what it was in its previous incarnation or whether or not it was an 'original' text. Recall Sukanta Chaudhury's excellent

translation of ha-ja-ba-ra-la, a Bengali text by Sukumar Ray which we all grew up with and which we took as impossible to recreate in another language.

Let me then misquote, add and modify Ikome's statement here:

> "Where many languages [=interpretations] compete for space, functions, speakers [=readers] and power [=grip] in very close quarters [=over very large number of readers], 'native' qualities ADD: of a text would come to the forefront only when society and politics must resolve the ensuing problem of brokering linguistic [=interpretive] power 'equitably'[between source and target versions, as also among the various sincere interpretations of the same in either of the communities]"

Let us see how it reads with my modifications and manipulations:

> "Where many interpretations compete for space, functions, readers and grip over very large number of readers, 'native' qualities of a text would come to the forefront only when society and politics resolve the ensuing problem of brokering interpretive power 'equitably' between source and target versions, as also among the various sincere interpretations of the same in either of the communities".

That is clearly a position an Uttar-aadhunik would also take.

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